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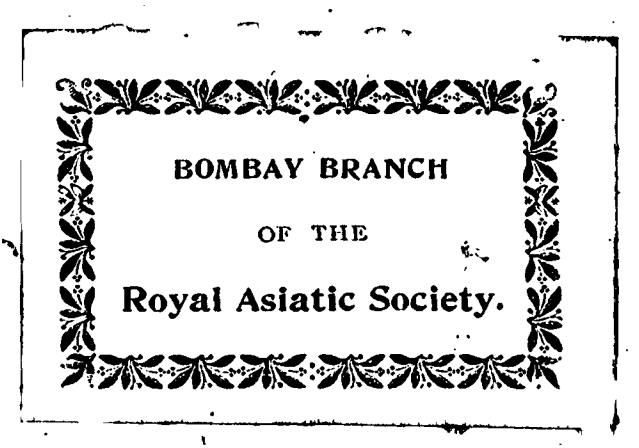

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A

NARRATIVE

OF

ARCTIC DISCOVERY,

From the Earliest Period to the Present Time.

WITH THE DETAILS OF THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

BY

JOHN J. SHILLINGLAW.

. . . . . "The Frigid Zone,
Where, for relentless months, continual night
Holds o'er the glittering waste her starry reign."

A A. h 19

LONDON:
WILLIAM SHOBERL, PUBLISHER,
20, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1850.

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Shi/Nar
·38·228

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM WILCOCKSON, ROLLS BUILDINGS, FETTER LANE.

TO

LADY FRANKLIN,

WHOSE NOBLE AND ENERGETIC EFFORTS TO RESCUE

HER GALLANT HUSBAND AND HIS BRAVE COMPANIONS

FROM THE PERILOUS POSITION IN WHICH THEY ARE PLACED,

THROUGH ZEAL FOR THEIR COUNTRY'S GLORY,

AND THE EXTENSION OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE,

IT IS THE EARNEST PRAYER OF THE WHOLE CIVILIZED WORLD

MAY BE CROWNED WITH SUCCESS,

THIS VOLUME,

IN WHICH

HIS NAME STANDS PROUDLY PRE-EMINENT,

IS

Most Respectfully Dedicated.

PREFACE.

In no quarter of the globe does the seaman or the traveller meet with more dangers and difficulties in his path of enterprise or discovery than in the Arctic Regions, or those lands and seas which are comprised within a circle, drawn on the chart at a distance of 23½° from the North Pole.

Within these icy limits is contained the eagerly-sought problem of centuries,—the North-West Passage;—that question which Sir Martin Frobisher, even in his day, considered as "the only great thing left undone in the world," and which has ever since baffled all attempts at solution, though pursued with unceasing zeal.

To these barren solitudes the attention, not

only of England, but of the whole world, has been anxiously directed for the past two years, owing to the uncertainty which hangs over the fate of Sir John Franklin and his gallant crews; and the following pages, while they aim at rendering more popular a subject which yields to none, of a geographical nature, in absorbing interest, have been compiled, principally with a view to keep public attention alive to the imperative duty which England owes to the brave men she has sent on a perilous service to use every practical endeavour within her power for their relief.

How many, whose names never meet the world's ear, whose tears are unseen by the world's eye, watch for the result?

LONDON, *March* 25, 1850.

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EXLANATION OF TECHNICAL TERMS

MADE USE OF IN THE COURSE OF THE FOLLOWING NARRATIVE.

Bay or Young Ice.—Ice newly formed upon the surface.

Blink.—A peculiar brightness in the atmosphere, which is almost always perceptible in approaching ice or land covered with snow. Land blink is usually more yellow than that of ice.

Bore.—The operation of "boring" through loose ice, consists in entering it under a press of sail, and forcing the ship through by separating the masses.

Dock.—An artificial dock is formed by cutting out with saws a square space in a thick floe in which a ship is placed in order to secure her from the pressure of other masses which are seen to be approaching, and which otherwise endanger her being "nipped." A "dock" is simply a small bight accidentally found under similar circumstances.

Field.—A sheet of ice generally of great thickness, and of such extent that its limits cannot be seen from a ship's mast-head.

Floe.—The same as a field except that its extent can be distinguished from a ship's mast-head. A "bay floe" is a floe of ice newly formed upon the surface.

A Hole or Pool of Water.—A small space of clear water surrounded by ice on every side.

Nipped.—To be forcibly pressed between two or more masses of ice.

A Pack.—A large body of loose ice whose extent cannot be seen.

A Patch of Ice.—The same as a pack, but of small dimensions.

Sailing Ice.—Ice of which the masses are so much separated as to allow a ship to sail among them without great difficulty.

A Tongue.—A mass of ice projecting under water in a horizontal direction from an iceberg or floe. A ship sometimes grazes or is set fast on a tongue of ice, which may, however, generally be avoided, being easily seen in smooth water.

A Water-Sky.—A certain dark appearance of the sky which indicates clear water in that direction, and which, when contrasted with the blink over ice or land, is very conspicuous.

Portrait of Sir John Franklin—*Frontispiece.*

Two Maps of the Polar Regions—in *pocket.*

NARRATIVE

OF

ARCTIC DISCOVERY.

CHAPTER I.

Scandinavian Enterprise and its Results—Discovery of Iceland and Greenland—Probable Discovery of North America by the Scandinavians Ages before Columbus—Fate of the Three Sons of Red-handed Eirek—Voyage of Ochter, the Norwegian, written by King Alfred—Expeditions undertaken after the Invention of the Mariner's Compass.

"HISTORY has not recorded the annals of a people who have occasioned greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe than the Scandinavians."[1] It is impossible to read of the habits of these daring ravagers during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, without inwardly shuddering at the cruelties perpetrated by them, and the devastation which almost invariably followed their sanguinary footsteps whithersoever they were pleased to direct them. The whole of northern Europe, and even Spain, Italy, and Greece, were kept in a constant state of alarm

[1] Preface to M. Mallett's "Northern Antiquities."

from dread of these incursions, and as defeat was nearly certain if any resistance was offered to their impetuous course, their successes and hardihood knew no bounds.

But, if the terror of their name was widely spread on land, their maritime expeditions occasioned still greater ravages. The sea was literally covered with their vessels, and their voyages were characterised by a fearlessness and contempt of danger which excites our admiration and surprise to the utmost extent, when we take into consideration the scanty means at their disposal, unassisted, like the seamen of the present day, by the mighty arm of science. For two hundred years they almost incessantly ravaged England, and frequently subdued it.

They soon spread, like a devouring flame, over Lower Saxony, Friesland, Holland, Flanders, and the banks of the Rhine as far as Mentz. They penetrated into the heart of France, having long before ravaged the coasts; they everywhere found their way up the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne and the Rhone. Within the space of thirty years, they frequently pillaged and burnt Paris, Amiens, Orleans, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Saintes, Angouléme, Nantes, and Tours. They settled themselves in Camargue, at the mouth of the Rhone, from whence they wasted Provence and Dauphiny as far as Valence. In short, they ruined France, levied immense tribute on its monarchs, burnt the palace of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, and, in conclusion, caused one of the finest provinces of the kingdom to be ceded to them.[2]

The northmen always turned their footsteps to the south as the scene for their depredations, but

[2] Mallett's "Northern Antiquities."

as the sea was covered with their sails, it was extremely possible that accident, or the indulgence of that roving disposition which has rendered them so famous, would sometimes lead them on voyages of discovery in a high northern latitude, and thus the sea-king first entered upon that rich field of geographical discovery in which the Rosses, Parry, Franklin, Richardson, Back, and many other Arctic heroes of the nineteenth century—have since gained their well earned laurels. It appears, however, that it was by a mere accident that they first obtained any knowledge of a more northern land than the Færöe Islands.

According to the Scandinavian Sagas, a celebrated sea-rover named Naddod, during a voyage to the Færöe Islands, about the year 860, was driven by a violent storm on an island, to which, from the vast quantity of snow he observed, he gave the name of "*Snowland.*" This island was afterwards visited successively by two Swedes, Gardar Svafason and Flokko, by whom the name was changed to that which it has ever since retained—*Island,* or Iceland.

The unfavourable report which these adventurers gave of the climate of the island on their return was probably the reason that no attempt was made to colonise it until the year 874, when Ingolf, and his brother-in-law Leif, or Hiorleif, two famous Norwegian adventurers, after committing dreadful ravages on the English coasts, set sail with their plunder to the northern seas, and planted a colony on its bleak and barren shores. They met with no inhabitants on the island, but conjectured that it had been visited before, as they found numerous wooden crosses and other articles, which very probably had belonged to fishermen from the north of Ireland or the Western Islands

of Scotland, who had been cast away or had made it a kind of fishing station.

The colony thus formed speedily rose into importance, and many noble families who would not tamely submit to the ambitious encroachments of Harald Hárfagra, the "fairhaired." king and conqueror of Norway, retired thither for refuge, and for four hundred years resisted all the attempts made by various Norwegian princes to subvert them.

About a century after the above discovery, the Icelanders received into their body, Thorwald, a powerful Norwegian chieftain, who had been banished for homicide. His son, Eirek, surnamed "the red hand," it is believed on account of his similar sanguinary propensities, followed him. Eirek, however, though far removed from the scenes of bloodshed in which the youth of Scandinavia generally passed the greater part of their existence, was unwilling to lead an inactive life. He therefore determined on a voyage for the discovery of unknown lands, and towards the close of the tenth century (A. D. 982) set sail in the prosecution of his design. He directed his course to the west, and soon made that part of the coast of Greenland which is now called Herjolf's Ness. Two lofty mountains which first met his view he named Huitserken, or *whiteshirt*, and Blaaserken, or *blueshirt*, the one being covered with snow and the other with ice. He landed on a small island west of Cape Farewell, where he passed the winter, and in the spring explored the mainland, and finding it covered with verdure, bestowed on it the euphonious title of "Grœnland,"[3] remark-

[3] "Greenland is a place in nature nothing like unto the name: for certainly there is no place in the world yet knowne and discovered that is less greene than it."—*Purchas.*

ing, that a good name would induce people to go and settle there.

After an absence of three years, a period which excites our surprise when we consider how necessarily ill-equipped for encountering all the rigours of an Arctic winter the expedition must have been, Eirek returned to Iceland, where he described in such glowing terms the advantages of his new discovery, that numbers followed him in the year 986, to settle on a creek, named after him, Eireksfjörd, which soon became a very considerable colony.[4]

Some years after this, Leif, the son of Eirek, visited the court of Olaf-Tryggvason, the first Christian king of Norway, and was converted to Christianity. He was accompanied on his return home by a priest, for the pious purpose of introducing the same faith into the Greenland colony, which had meanwhile continued to increase in size and importance: the western district, or Vestre Bygd, numbering four parishes, ninety farms, and a numerous population, whilst the eastern, or Oestre Bygd, contained twelve parishes, one hundred and ninety farms, and two convents, besides being the see of a bishop.

The cathedral was in Garda. The first bishop was ordained A.D. 1121, the seventeenth, and last, in 1404. Documentary proofs of his having officiated in 1409 at a marriage in Garda have been discovered by the learned Finn Magnusen, but after this date nothing was ever more heard of the Greenland colonies;—broken urns, implements, and fragments of church bells, are now the only vestiges that remain to us of what was once a

[4] Eireksfjörd is supposed to be the modern Tunnulliorbik in the Julianeshaab district on the eastern coast of Baffin's Bay, in lat. 60° 55'.

thriving and busy community. How they perished is unknown, though numerous hypotheses have been set up by various writers. Their decline and eventual extermination, however, are probably referable to the crooked policy pursued by the mother-country, which had the effect of destroying all their trade, which was necessarily their very vital principle, and as it appears they were always "sorely infested with a wild nation," on whom they had bestowed the contemptuous title of "Skrælings," or dwarfs, it is not improbable that the final blow was given by them. Magnusen justly observes, "Iceland would probably have shared the same fate as Greenland, had not British merchants, in spite of opposition, supplied it with articles absolutely necessary for the existence of its inhabitants."

It was an opinion, long held, that the two lost colonies were situated, the one on the eastern and the other on the western coast of Greenland, but this question was finally set at rest by Captain W. A. Graah, of the Danish royal navy, who, in 1829, by order of the Danish government, explored the eastern coast in umiaks, or Esquimaux boats, from Cape Farewell to the sixty-fourth parallel of latitude, without finding a single trace of them that would lead one to suppose it had ever been colonised.[5]

At this period is involved a point of great geographical interest, viz.: the discovery of the great North American continent by the Scandinavians, ages before Columbus "gave to Castile and Leon a new world," and we much regret, that through

[5] Narrative of an expedition to the east coast of Greenland, sent by order of the king of Denmark, in search of the lost colonies, under the command of Captain W. A. Graah, &c. Translated by G. G. Macdougall, F.R.S., N.A., for the Geographical Society, 1837. See also "Geographical Journal," i. 274.

want of space, our sketch will necessarily be but very slight.[6] We gather the account from the Sagas of Eirek the Red and Thorfinn Karlsefni; and here we may be allowed to observe, that the Sagas relating to the discovery and colonization of Greenland have been so strongly confirmed in modern times by the discovery and translation of Runic inscriptions, ruins, &c., and generally are found to bear on their faces such evidences of truthfulness, that the conclusion is warranted, that those relating to America are equally deserving attention.

Among those who accompanied Eirek the Red to Greenland was Hefjûlf, whose son Bjarni was at that time on a trading voyage to Norway. Returning to Iceland in the course of the summer, of the year 986, and finding that his family had left the island, Bjarni resolved to follow them, and pass the winter, as he had been used to do, at his father's fireside. He accordingly set sail, though neither he nor any of his men had ever navigated the Greenland seas, and for many days was driven by tempestuous north winds, accompanied by dense fogs, he knew not whither. When the weather cleared up, he descried land, which, on approaching, he found to be moderately elevated and overgrown with wood. Being convinced that it could not be Greenland, which had been represented to him as distinguishable at a distance by its snow-capped mountains, he left it to larboard, and, standing out to sea, after sailing two days again descried land, lower than the former, but also overgrown with wood. Continuing his course

[6] The reader who desires further information on this particular point will find the subject very ably treated by Mr. Blackwell, in his Supplementary Chapter to Mallett's "Northern Antiquities."—*Bohn's Series*, pp. 250—276.

with a south-west wind, he came in three days to a lofty island, the shore of which presented numerous icebergs and glaciers. The country not appearing to Bjarni very attractive, he again stood out to sea, and after sailing four days, with fresh gales, reached Herjulfnes, in Greenland, where his father was settled.[7]

Many years after this, when Bjarni's important voyage began to be talked about, even in Norway, Leif, son of red-handed Eirek, purchased a vessel, and with a crew of about thirty-five men, set sail, in the year 1000, in order to follow up, if possible, the discovery. The first land they made was that which Bjarni had seen last, a bare rugged plain of broad flat rocks, which bore no herbage of any kind, and answers very well to the south-eastern shore of Newfoundland. Continuing their voyage, they next arrived at a low level coast, thickly wooded, to which they gave the name of Markland, or Woodland. This description bears also a striking resemblance to the northern coast of Nova Scotia. After erecting houses and passing the winter on the spot, which, there is every reason to believe, was known six centuries later as New England, in the spring they loaded their vessel with timber,—then, as it is now, a very scarce article in Greenland—and their long boat with grapes, and set sail for home, bestowing on the country on which nature appeared to have lavished so many of her bounties, the name of Vinland, or the Land of the Vine.

Thorvald, Leif's brother, visited the country in the year 1002, and was killed in a skirmish with the Esquimaux. This occasioned a third son of Eirek to go there also, in order to bring home his brother's remains, but he was blown away into

[7] "Northern Antiquities," p. 251—2.

Baffin's Bay, where he and most of his followers were carried off by a contagious disease.

In 1007, and, in fact, occasionally, until as late as the year 1290,[8] Vinland was visited by the Northmen, but it does not appear that they ever made any attempt at colonization.

The deepest obscurity still envelopes everything connected with a voyage to the American continent, said to have been made, in the year 1170, by Madoc, Prince of Wales, son of Owen Gwynedd. It is a question worthy of the most severe examination by the traveller, the ethnographer, and the student, and it is to be hoped that the attention which has lately been drawn to the subject, will be the means of renewing the desire for the settlement of so interesting a question.[8]

An ancient voyage to the North was performed by Pytheas, a citizen of Marseilles, who described his course to have been along the eastern coast of England and Scotland, and six days farther, into the depths of ocean; at the end of that time he arrived at an island, the "Ultima Thule" of Ptolemy. Here his progress was arrested by a barrier of a peculiar nature, by something which was neither earth, air, nor sky, but composed of all three, through which it was found impossible to penetrate.[9]

Ohthere, or Ochter, a daring Northman, who appears to have lived on the northern extremity of Norway, and to have been engaged in the service of King Alfred, to whom he related his voyage (which that illustrious prince wrote down in the Anglo-Saxon language), "being determined to find out, once on a time, how far this country extended due north, and whether any one lived to

[8] See Sir James Alexander's "L'Acadie."
[9] Edin. Cab. Lib., vol. i. p. 112.

the north of the wastes occupied by the Northmen," &c.,[10] undertook a voyage, A. D. 890, which Forster delineates as extending to the interior of the White Sea, but he is supposed not to have reached farther than the river Kola. Captain James Burney, in his "Chronology of North-eastern Voyages," observes (p. 5)—"It is not too much to say in praise of the royal historian and of the voyager, that few modern discoveries are more clearly and intelligibly described than this voyage and discovery made by Ochter."[11]

But the obscurity which envelopes the early voyages to the frozen regions of the North, would require far more space to investigate thoroughly than our pages afford. We will, therefore, pass at once to that period in the history of discovery and research in the polar regions, after the invention of the mariners' compass had entirely changed the face of maritime affairs, when the ravens, to whose powerful wing the daring sea-kings were wont to trust in their voyages of exploration, were left to rest quietly at home; "the light of the stars, the guidance of the sea-coast, were no longer necessary; trusting to the mysterious powers of his new friend, the sailor steered out fearlessly into the ocean, through the bewildering mists or the darkness of night;" a new and glorious era was commenced in the history of commerce and navigation.

In 1380, Nicolo Zeno, a Venetian merchant, is said to have undertaken a voyage to Flanders, in which he was cast away upon a coast which he calls Friesland. "The position of this unknown

[10] Barrington's Miscellanies, p. 460.

[11] It was published in the original Anglo-Saxon by the Hon. Daines Barrington. English translations of the voyage are in Hakluyt, in Dr. Reinhold Forster's "Discoveries in the North," and in Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons."

shore has been a subject of controversy, and some have even had recourse to the hypothesis of its having been since swallowed up by the ocean." The whole voyage has been considered as a complete fabrication by the talented author of the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot,"[12] who believes it to have been got up by the Portuguese, to support their spurious claims to the priority of discovery of the American continent, in the voyage of Gaspar Cortereal, which will be noticed in its proper place. This is likewise the opinion of Captain Zahrtmann, hydrographer to the Danish royal navy, who has written a very learned paper on the subject, to be found in the fifth volume of the "Journal of the Geographical Society of London."

Piero Quirino, another Venetian gentleman, is said to have sailed on a similar voyage in the year 1431, and to have been wrecked on the coast of Norway.

[12] London: Hurst & Co., 1831. This valuable work is distinguished alike by its deep research as by its tone of asperity; the latter probably called forth, in some measure, by the errors of preceding writers on the same subject; its authorship is attributed to Mr. R. Biddle, the American senator.

CHAPTER II.

Emulation excited by the example of Columbus—Its influence on the mind of John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol—Cabot undertakes a voyage of discovery, under the sanction of Henry VII.—Discovery of North America by Cabot, previously to the discovery of South America by Columbus—Second voyage under the command of Sebastian Cabot—An expedition sent out by Portugal to follow up Cabot's discoveries—False assumptions of the Portuguese—Fate of Cortereal, the leader of the expedition.

It was not until towards the close of the fifteenth century, that the spirit of geographical enterprise burst forth in anything like the glory which it has since attained; and, perhaps, it is not too much to say, that the great Columbus was the first to kindle that flame of maritime adventure, which has since burned so steadily, lighting up the darkest corners of the earth, and forming the first link in the universal brotherhood of nations.

The fame of the great admiral's glorious exploit had filled all Europe with wonder; "inasmuch," to use Hakluyt's words, "that all men, with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane;" and, among others, it appears to have made a very lasting impression on a certain Venetian, named John Cabot, whom we find, about the year 1494, residing in the city of Bristol.

At what period Cabot came to England, "to follow the trade of merchandises," or what was his previous manner of life we have now no means of

ascertaining; but, that he was a man of considerable skill in maritime affairs, his connexion with arctic discovery will go far to prove. He laid his plans, and other "demonstrations," for undertaking a voyage of discovery in the northern seas, before the then reigning monarch, Henry VII., who, though of a cold and cautious disposition, received them favourably. "He had just missed the opportunity of employing Columbus, and with it the treasures of the New World. Instead of cold and cheerless distrust, there was a reaction in the public mind, with a sanguine flow of confidence towards novel speculations and daring enterprises."[1] The king viewed them favourably, and on the 5th March, 1496,[2] granted him and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanchius, a royal patent, authorising them to sail "to all parts, countries, and seas, of the east, of the west, and of the north," under the flag of England, with five ships, of whatever burthen and strength in mariners they might choose to employ; to subdue, occupy, and possess all such towns, cities, castles, and isles, as they might discover, as the lieutenants of the king. The equipment of the expedition was stipulated to be "at their own proper costs and charges;" one-fifth part of the capital gain was secured to the king, and the vessels were bound to return to the port of Bristol, where any commodities they might bring from foreign lands were to pass free from customs' duty. The patent also gave power to impose the forfeit of the ship and goods of any one trading to the newly discovered countries, without the consent of John Cabot, or his three sons. This important

[1] Memoir of S. Cabot.

[2] According to Hakluyt, "Voyages, Navigations, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation," &c. (iii. 26, edit. 1600), 1495. This is erroneous, as the *first* patent bears date, "5th March, in the 11th year of our reign" Henry began his reign, August, 1485.

document is preserved in Rymer's "Fœdera Angliæ," v xii. p, 595,, and also in Hakluyt's Collection, iii. 25-6.

Cabot did not sail till the spring of the year 1497 —more than a year after the date of the commission —a delay which was very probably owing to the necessity of the family raising the requisite funds, as the expedition was at their sole expense. That the result was the discovery of America there can be no doubt, as the following evidence will prove.

On a map drawn by Sebastian, the second son of John Cabot, who accompanied his father on this voyage, engraved by Clement Adams, a contemporary, and published, as there is every reason to believe, under the eye of Sebastian, was written in Latin, the following clear and satisfactory account of the discovery:—

"In the year of our Lord, 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll,) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five of the clocke early in the morning. This land is called *Prima vista*, that is to say, first seene; because, as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land he called the Island of *St. John* upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of *John the Baptist.* The inhabitants of this island used to weare beasts' skinnes, and have them in as great estimation as we have our finest garments. In their warres they use bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, and slings. The soil is barren in some places, and yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white bears, and stagges far greater than ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great as seales, and those which

we commonly call *salmons;* there are soles, also, above a yard in length, but especially there is great abundance of that kind of fish which the savages call *baccalaos.* In the same island also, there breed hauks, but they are so black that they are very like to ravens, as also their partridges and eagles, which are in like sort blacke."

Cabot appears to have returned to England immediately after his discovery, as we find in the account of the privy purse expenses of Henry VII., the following entry:—

10th August, 1497—To him that found the New Isle, £10.

Here, then, we have proof positive that part of the north American continent was visited by an English ship fourteen months before Columbus ascertained for certain the existence of that of a southern; yet, while the achievements of the one have justly had a whole host of chroniclers, the no less important claims of John and Sebastian Cabot, have received but a very indifferent reception at the hands of historical and geographical writers; —while dozens of noble and flattering appellatives have been coined to mark the worlds' gratitude to the one, "England has suffered to moulder in obscurity, in one of the lanes of the Metropolis, the very record which establishes the discovery effected by her Great Seaman, fourteen months before Columbus beheld the American continent, and two years before the lucky Florentine (Amerigo Vespucci) had been west of the Canaries."[5]

On the 3rd of February, 1498, King Henry VII. granted to John Cabot a second patent, or royal commission, which, after lying neglected for upwards of three centuries, amidst the confused mass of records in the Rolls' Chapel, has at length been brought to light by the indefatigable author of the

[5] Memoir of Cabot.

"Biographical Memoir," and is thus given by him (p. 76):—

"Memorandum quod tertio die Februarii anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi xiii. ista Billa delibata fuit Domino Cancellario Angliæ apud Westmonasterium exequenda.

"To the Kinge.

"Please it your Highnesse of your most noble and habundaunt grace to graunte to John Kabotto, Venecian, your gracious Lettres Patents in due fourme to be made accordyng to the tenor hereafter ensuyng, and he shall continually praye to God for the preservacion of your moste Noble and Roiall astate longe to endure.

"H. R.

"Rex.

"To all men to whom theis Presenteis shall come send Greytyng: Knowe ye that We of our Grace especiall, and for dyvers causis us movying. We Have geven and graunten, and by theis Presentis geve and graunte to our welbeloved John Kabotto, Venecian, sufficient auctorite and power, that he, by him his Deputie or Deputies sufficient, may take at his pleasure VI Englisshe Shippes in any Porte or Portes or other place within this our Realme of England or obeisance, so that and if the said Shippes be of the bourdeyn of CC. tonnes or under, with their apparail requisite and necessarie for the safe conduct of the said Shippes, and them *convey and lede to the Londe and isles of late founde by the seid John in oure name and by our commaundemente.* Paying for theym and every of theym and as if we should in or for our owen cause paye and noon otherwise. And that the said John, by hym his Deputie or Deputies sufficiente, maye take and receyve into the said Shippes, and every of theym all such maisters, maryners, Pages, and

other subjects as of their owen free wille woll goo and passe with him in the same Shippes *to the seid Londe or isles*, withoute anye impedymente, lett or perturbance of any of our officers or ministres or subjects whatsoever they be by theym to the seyd John, his Deputie, or Deputies, and all other our seid subjects or any of them passinge with the seyd John in the said Shippes to the seid Londe or Iles to be doon, or suffer to be doon or attempted. Geving in commaundement to all and every our officers, ministres and subjects seying or herying theis our Lettres Patents, without any ferther commaundement by Us to theym or any of theym to be geven to perfourme and socour the said John, his Deputie and all our said Subjects so passyng with hym according to the tenor of this our Lettres Patentis. Any Statute, Acte or Ordennance to the contrarye made or to be made in any wise notwithstanding."

Agreeably to the above, preparations were made to carry out the king's commission; but from some cause, which baffles every attempt at elucidation, when about to sail, John Cabot was prevented from taking command of the expedition. Sebastian, therefore, although scarcely twenty-three years of age, was promoted to this important post, and sailed in command of two ships, in the summer of 1498. And here it may be as well to say a few words, as to the early life of the young man who was entrusted with the chief command on this occasion. According to Richard Eden, the author of the "Decades of the New World," a black letter volume, published in 1555, the particular friend of Cabot, and from whose lips he says he received it, Sebastian was born at Bristol, but being carried by his father to Venice, when very young, he was thought to have been a native of that city.

Though this statement is in opposition to the views of numberless writers, both ancient and modern, yet, famous as Eden is for great regard to truth, besides enjoying, as he did, the close friendship of Cabot, the probability is greatly in favour of this version; and, indeed, the author of the "Memoir" declares, that Eden "has far stronger claims to consideration as an author, and to the grateful recollection of his countrymen, than Hakluyt,"—whom he preceded by half a century.

We may, therefore, reasonably suppose, that the talents of Sebastian for maritime pursuits, which at a future period rendered him the most renowned seaman of the age, had already begun to develope themselves, when we find him, thus early in life, entrusted with the command of an expedition which demanded experience of no ordinary character.

The accounts preserved of this important voyage are exceedingly meagre, and, as usual, very conflicting. Peter Martyr d'Angleria, the historian of the New World, in the sixth chapter of his third Decade, tells us that Cabot fitted out two ships at his own expense, and, with three hundred followers, directed his course so far towards the North Pole, that, even in the month of July, he found great heaps of ice swimming in the sea, and almost continual daylight. "Thus, observing such masses of ice before him, he was compelled to turn his sails, and follow the west; and, coasting still by the shore, was brought so far into the south, by reason of the land bending much to the southward, that it was there almost equal in latitude with the sea called Fretum Herculeum. He sailed to the west till he had the island of Cuba on his left hand, almost in the same longitude. As he passed along those coasts, called by him Baccalaos, he affirmed that he found the same current of the waters

towards the west which the Spaniards met with in the southern navigations, with the single difference that they flowed more gently."

"Cabot named these lands Baccalaos, because in the seas thereabout he found such an immense multitude of large fish like tunnies, called Baccalaos by the natives, that they actually impeded the sailing of his ships. He found also the inhabitants of these regions covered with beasts' skins, yet not without the use of reason. He also relates that there are plenty of bears in these parts, which feed upon fish. It is the practice of these animals to throw themselves into the midst of the shoals of fish, each seizing his prey, to bury their claws in the scales, drag them to land, and there devour them. On this account he says that these bears meddle little with men."[4]

The question may fairly be asked,—to what degree of northern latitude did Cabot attain in this voyage, and what were its subsequent results? Here again we have conflicting statements. In the first volume of his valuable collection of voyages, Ramusio has inserted a conversation, at which he was present, which took place at the romantic residence of the Italian poet Hieronimus Fracastoro, at Caphi, near Verona, in which the subject of a northern passage to the east was discussed; and one of the company present, a gentlemen, whose name, from motives of delicacy, Ramusio conceals, gave them an account of an interview which he had had with Sebastian Cabot, in the city of Seville, some years previously. He described to them the cordial reception which Cabot had given him, on learning his desire for information on this topic, and then proceeded to relate to them, as nearly as he could remember, what Cabot had told him with

[4] Edin. Cab. Lib. v. ix. p. 27.

regard to his voyage to the north in 1498. We here insert the translation, as given by Hakluyt, of that part of the conversation which gives a sketch of that voyage, and its results:—

"When my father departed from *Venice* many yeeres since to dwell in *England*, to follow the trade of Marchandises, hee took mee with him to the citie of *London*, while I was very yong, yet having neverthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the sphere. And when my father died in that time, when newes were brought that *Don Christopher Colonus Genoese* had discovered the coasts of *India*, whereof was great talke in all the court of king Henry the Seventh, who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane, to saile by the West into the East, where spices do growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report, there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And understanding, by reason of the sphere, that if I should saile by way of the North-west, I should by a shorter tract come into *India*, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my device, who immediately commanded two caravels to bee furnished with all things appertaining to the voyage, which was *as farre as I remember in the yeere* 1496,[5] in the beginning of sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the North-west, not thinking to finde any other land than that of *Cathay*, and from thence to turn toward *India*; but after certaine

[5] Ramusio is here so badly translated, that it appears as if Cabot had forgotten the date of his own celebrated voyage. It should be—"I communicated my project to his majesty the king, who highly approved of it, and provided me with two ships, well fitted up. This happened in 1496, at the beginning of summer."

dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neverthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I coulde finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continent to the 56 degree under our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the equinoctiall (ever with intent to finde the said passage to *India*,) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called *Florida*, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into *England*, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in *Scotland*: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage."

In the above extract it will be perceived that 56° is the northern limit assigned to the voyage, but we must very carefully observe that the conversation, at which Ramusio was present, took place *several years after* the interview between Cabot and the narrator; besides which we have still further the chance of forgetfulness by Ramusio, who confesses to a bad memory. Now, in two other places, in his third volume, Ramusio states the latitude reached:—in the first, citing a letter from Cabot, whose correspondent and friend he had intermediately become, he states it to be 67° 30′; but in the second, speaking generally of the northern regions, he drops the half degree, and calls it 67 degrees.

Another authority, Francis Lopez de Gomara, the Spanish historian of the West Indies, says:—

"Sebastian Cabot was the fyrst that browght any knowleage of this lande. For beinge in Englande in the dayes of Kyng Henry the Seventh,

he furnysshed twoo shippes at his owne charges, or (as sum say) at the Kynges, whome he persuaded that a passage might be founde to Cathay by the North Seas, and that spices might be brought from thense soner by that way, then by the vyage the Portugales vse by the sea of Sur. He went also to knowe what maner of landes those Indies were to inhabite. He had with hym three hundreth men, and directed his course by the tracte of Islande vppon the cape of Labrador at lviii. degrees: affirmynge that in the monethe of July there was such could and heapes of ise that he durst passe no further: also that the dayes were very long and in maner without nyght, and the nyghtes very clear.* Certayne it is, that at the lx. degrees, the longest day is of xviii. houres. But consyderynge the coulde and the straungeness of the unknowen lande, he turned his course from thense to the West, followynge the coast of the lande of Baccalaos vnto the xxxviii. degrees from whense he returned to England."[6]

On the return of Sebastian Cabot to England, at the close of the year 1498, after making the daring attempt to penetrate to the north-west, above narrated, he found the whole kingdom in a state of uproar, occasioned by the rising in favour of the notorious Perkin Warbeck, and the preparations for a war with Scotland. If, therefore, he made any proposition to undertake another voyage of discovery in the arctic regions, (and doubtless a man of his indomitable spirit and energy would not let the matter rest after so favourable a commencement,) it was not very likely to receive much attention from a king who had his hands full of such serious matters.

Let us allow, however, the following note to

[6] "Eden's Decades," fol. 318; "Memoir," p. 87.

have any weight in the enquiry, and it would appear that his love of adventure surmounted all difficulties. In the Rev. Mr. Seyer's "Memoirs, Historical and Topographical, of Bristol and its neighbourhood, from the earliest period to the present time," it is stated (p. 208, vol. ii.) that some of the ancient Calendars of Bristol, under the date of 1499, contain the following entry:— "This yeare Sebastian Cabot, borne in Bristoll, proffered his service to King Henry for discovering new countries; which had noe greate or favorable entertainment of the king, but he, with no extraordinary preparation, sett forth from Bristoll, and made greate discoveries."

Couple with this memorandum the extraordinary statement made by Alonzo de Ojeda to the Spanish court, "that he found certain Englishmen in the neighbourhood of Coquibacoa," and we have probably a clue to the manner in which Cabot passed some portion of his time, from the period of his return from the arctic seas, in 1498, to the date of his entering the service of Spain, (13th September, 1512); but as we have as yet no further evidence on this point, great faith must not be placed in this assertion.[7]

For many succeeding years we look around in vain for an indication of any further attempt at a northern voyage out of England. But Portugal, at this period of history, the great maritime power of the world, and subsequently the most formidable of England's rivals on the sea, was not so unwise

[7] This is the view taken by Washington Irving, in his delightful "Voyages of the Companions of Columbus," who likewise says, that the reason Ojeda was vested with such full powers, in his second voyage to colonize Coquibacoa, was in consequence of the rumour that he had formerly met with the English at that place, and the government was very desirous of having a man of such known courage as Ojeda to make good the Spanish claim in that quarter.

as to allow so promising a field of honour and emolument to remain unexplored. The daring intrepidity of her sons had opened out a passage round the tempestuous extremity of Africa, while countless numbers of her adventurers were flocking to the luxuriant shores of the New World; and we may therefore readily imagine that she looked with no very favourable eye upon the proceedings of England, which threatened to wrest from her some of her brightest laurels. Accordingly, Gaspar Cortereal, a member of the noble family of that name, with the sanction of King Emanuel, (in whose household he had been educated while he was yet the Duke de Beja,) fitted out two ships at his own expense, and sailed from Lisbon in the year 1500, with the intention of following up Sebastian Cabot's discoveries. He touched at the Azores, and then pursued a course which, as far as he knew, had never been traversed by any former navigator, until he made a land which he named Terra Verde.[8] This was part of the coast of Labrador, and he proceeded to explore it for upwards of six hundred miles. We derive a remarkably clear and minute account of this expedition from a letter, dated 19th October, 1501, written by Pietro Pasquiligi, the Venetian ambassador at the court of Portugal, to his brothers in Italy, *only eleven days after the return of Cortereal from his northern voyage,* a translation of which is subjoined.

"On the 8th of the present month one of the two Caravels which his most Serene Majesty dispatched last year on a voyage of discovery to the North, under the command of Gaspar Cortereal, arrived here, and reports the finding of a country dis-

[8] Carefully to be distinguished from *Greenland.* See Sir John Barrow's "Chronological History of Arctic Voyages," 1818, p. 39.

tant hence West and North-West, two thousand miles, heretofore quite unknown. They proceeded along the coast *between six and seven hundred miles* without reaching its termination, from which circumstance, they conclude it to be of the mainland *connected with another region which last year was discovered in the North*, but which the Caravel *could not reach* on account of the ice and the vast quantity of snow; and they are confirmed in this belief by the multitude of great rivers they found which certainly could not proceed from an island. They say that this country is *very populous*, and the dwellings of the inhabitants are constructed with timber of great length and covered with the skins of fishes. They have brought hither of the inhabitants, seven in all, men, women, and children, and in the other Caravel which is looked for every hour there are fifty more.

"They are of like colour, figure, stature, and aspect, and bear the greatest resemblance to the Gypsies; are clothed with the skins of different animals, but principally the otter; in summer the hairy side is worn outwards, but in winter the reverse; and these skins are not in any way sewed together or fashioned to the body, but just as they come from the animal are wrapped about the shoulders and arms: over the part which modesty directs to be concealed is a covering made of the great sinews of fish. From this description they may appear mere savages, yet they are gentle and have a strong sense of shame, and are better made in the arms, legs, and shoulders, than it is possible to describe. They puncture the face, like the Indians, exhibiting six, eight, or even more marks. The language they speak is not understood by any one, though every possible tongue has been tried with them. In this country there is no iron, but they make swords of a kind of stone, and point

their arrows with the same material. There has been brought thence a piece of a broken sword, which is gilt, and certainly came from Italy. A boy had in his ears two silver plates, which beyond question, from their appearance, were made at Venice, and this induces me to believe that the country is a Continent; for had it been an Island, and visited by a vessel, we should have heard of it. They have great plenty of salmon, herring, cod, and similar fish; and an abundance of timber, especially the *pine, well adapted for masts and yards*, and hence His Serene Majesty contemplates deriving great advantage from the country, not only on account of the timber of which he has occasion, but of the inhabitants, who are admirably calculated for labour, and are the best slaves I have ever seen."[9]

[9] Memoir, p. 239—241. This valuable document is preserved (lib. vi. cap. cxxvi) in the precious volume entitled "Paesi novamente retrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato," published at Vicenza in 1507, and now a work of the greatest rarity. (The original and French translation are in the library of Havard College.—"Bancroft's United States," p. 4.) The "Paesi" was translated into Latin by Madrignanon, in a book entitled, "Itinerarium Portugallensium é Lusitania in Indiam," &c., and this translation is perhaps one of the most deliberate frauds ever perpetrated; and the misfortune is, that it has misled a host of ancient and modern writers, who have treated of Cortereal's voyage, until exposed by the author of the "Memoir of S. Cabot," (p. 249—255.) Some of the principal perversions are as follows:—"Instead of 'a region discovered last year,' we have 'a region *formerly* visited by *our countrymen*.' The distance sailed along the coast becomes almost *eight* hundred miles. There is created amongst the natives a *preference* of Venetian manufactures. This region, 'very populous,' according to the original, is converted into one 'admirably cultivated,' and instead of the pine, &c., well suited for the spars of vessels, we have the natives actually engaged in ship building! The captives 'adapted' to labour, become 'habituated' to it, and at length 'born' to it; and in speaking of the King of Portugal, the ambassador is made to call him, 'our king.' And this is a professed translation, by an ecclesiastic, dedicated to a high public functionary!" It would be useless to offer any arguments to prove that the country further north which Cortereal could not reach, but of which he rightly conjectured he had found a continuation, was that discovered by Cabot.

Such are the terms of the original letter, and it will be at once seen how fraudulent has been the attempt made by the Latin translation of Madrignanon to impose upon the world, and to set up for Portugal a claim of priority of discovery.

The author of the Memoir, maintains that the most northern point reached by Cortereal was the gulf of St. Lawrence, or, at the utmost, the southern extremity of Labrador; but the arguments which go to prove that his voyage extended along the coast of Labrador, appear to be far more reasonable on this point.[10]

It is very easy to imagine the triumph with which such a discovery would be received at the court of Emanuel; independent of all considerations of a mercantile character, (which entered very largely into such projects in those days,) it was very gratifying to the nation that their first attempt in the frozen north should have been crowned with so much success:—but it was a more substantial, though a basely mercenary, motive, which induced them again to take the field. We have heard the Venetian ambassador laud the mild and laborious disposition of the natives Cortereal had so cruelly entrapped, as admirably fitted for slaves. "Twenty years before, the fort of D'Elmina had been erected on the shores of Africa, to follow up the suggestion of Alonzo Gonzales, which pointed out the southern Africans as an article of commerce." Here alone, then, there was a rich mine of wealth to the nation, and it is with feelings of grief and disgust that we learn how eagerly the king entered into a project which was to entail misery upon thousands of his fellow-creatures. Alas! where is it possible to point to a more blood-stained narrative of refined cruelty, than the annals of the African slave trade, which we thus trace back to this barbarous suggestion.

[10] Edin. Cab. Lib. Polar Seas, p. 185—7.

Next year, Cortereal departed with two ships on a second voyage,[11] and steered his course to the most northern extreme of his former voyage. Here he is described as entering a strait, (probably Hudson's,) but at this interesting point of the voyage a tempest arose, and he was separated from his companions, and never heard of more. The probability is, that he fell a victim to the just indignation of the relatives and friends of those natives, whom he had so cruelly carried off on his former visit.

When the news of this disaster reached Portugal, Michael Cortereal, grand door-keeper to the king, determined on setting out in search of his lost brother, whose dark and unhappy end he was destined to share;—he never returned, and the deep still holds the secret of the fate of both. A third brother, Vasco Eanes, master of the king's household, yet remained, and was only prevented by the king's positive commands from following in their track.

"The king," says Goes, "felt deeply the loss of these two brothers, so much the more as they had been educated by him; and on this account, moved by royal and gracious tenderness, in the following year, he sent at his own expense two armed ships in search of them; but it could never be discovered where or in what manner either the one or the other was lost, on which account this province of Terra Verde, where it was supposed the two brothers perished, was called the Land of the Cortereals."[12]

[11] He sailed on this *second* voyage, according to the Edin. Cab. Lib. (Discov. N. Coasts of America, p. 37,) on the 15th *May*, 1501, (also Barrow, pp. 40—45). It is impossible to reconcile this statement with the fact that Cortereal *returned* from his *first* voyage on the 8th of *October*, 1501.

[12] Damiano Goes "Chronica del Rey Dom Manuel," pt. 1. c. 66.

CHAPTER III.

Sebastian Cabot transfers his Services to Spain—Jealousy of the Courtiers—Cabot's Return to England—Sent out by Henry VIII. to Extend his Discoveries, under Sir T. Pert—Disappointed through the Mutiny of his Crew, and Pusillanimity of their Commander—France enters the field of Arctic Discovery—Spain pursues the same object—Fresh Expeditions sent out by Francis I., under the command of Jacques Cartier—New attempt made by England, with its Disastrous Results—An endeavour of the French to Colonize Canada defeated by the Natives—Cabot's Return from Spain to England—Favourable Reception by Edward VI.—New Expedition framed by Cabot, under the King's sanction, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancelor—Willoughby's Melancholy End—Chancelor penetrates to Moscow—Embassy of the Emperor of Russia to England.

FOURTEEN years elapse from the period of his celebrated voyage, before the illustrious name of Sebastian Cabot re-appears on the list of Arctic voyagers. We have before stated, that in 1512 he was induced to enter the service of Spain, probably, because he saw it was useless to hope for any encouragement at home. Ferdinand would be anxious to withdraw, if possible, from the service of a youthful monarch full of enterprise and ambition, and possessed of the accumulated treasures of his thrifty father, a Navigator who had opened to England the glorious career of discovery, and Henry VIII., not knowing what he was losing, suffered himself to be robbed of a man whose equal was not to be found in his realms.

The Spanish sovereign speedily perceived the worth of his new minister. We find Cabot, with the title of captain, and a liberal allowance, holding in 1515, the dignified and important station of a Member of the Council of the Indies. In 1516, a voyage to discover the north-west passage was projected under his command; but the death of Ferdinand, at the beginning of that year, appears to have put an end to the contemplated expedition, and the long pent-up jealousy of the courtiers, which dared not, during the king's lifetime, exhibit itself in any marked manner, now broke forth, and Cabot, to escape its rancour, returned to England.

In 1517, Henry VIII. was induced to fit out a small squadron, in order to extend Cabot's former discoveries in the north. The chief command was given to Sir Thomas Pert, to whose faint-heartedness is to be attributed the ultimate failure of the voyage. On the 11th of June they had reached the north latitude of 67° 30′, when a mutiny of the crew, added to the pusillanimity of the commander, compelled Cabot to return home.

It amounts almost to a certainty, that Cabot, in this voyage, entered what is at present known as Hudson's Bay, or at any rate, the strait which bears the same name; and it seems also highly probable, that Frobisher and Hudson in later times, were guided by what was known and published of Cabot's attempt before they undertook their several voyages. The subject is very fully discussed by his biographer, (pp. 27-37, and 290-301,) to whose pages we must refer those who seek more information on so interesting a point.

In 1524 the French, for the first time, entered the field of Arctic discovery. In that year, by direction of Francis I., four ships were fitted out, and the command given to Giovanni Verazzano,

a Florentine, who coasted North America from the latitude 34° to 50′, a distance of seven hundred leagues, embracing the whole of the present United States and a large portion of British America. Verazzano had frequent opportunities of meeting with the natives, and in the account of the voyage which he gave to Francis, he speaks of them in the highest terms. It has been thought probable that he first landed on the coast of Georgia, near the present town of Savannah.[1] In his indefatigable progress northwards, he however found a people as fierce and sullen as those with whom he had lately come in contact were mild and gentle. A further run of fifty leagues along the coast brought him to a cluster of thirty islands, separated by narrow channels, a description which precisely marks the present Bay of Penobscot. He pursued his course to the latitude of 50°, when his provisions failing, he sailed for France, and reached Dieppe in safety on the 8th July, 1524.

It is greatly to be regretted that nothing is known of the after life of Verazzano. That he was a man of great ability is apparent from the energy with which he carried out the above important voyage. It has been proved by the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library,"[2] that he was alive in 1537, and, therefore, could not have been the "Piedmontese pilot," said in the "Memoir of Cabot," (p. 278,) to have been slain on the coast of America in 1527, and which will be noticed in its proper place.

The disastrous battle of Pavia, which sent Francis a prisoner to Madrid, is a matter of history. "France, without her sovereign, without money in

[1] Forster's "Discov. in North," p. 433.
[2] "Discovery on the Northern Coasts of America," p. 52.

her treasury, without an army, without a general to command it, and encompassed on all sides by a victorious and active enemy, seemed to be on the very brink of destruction."[3] All idea, therefore, of the advantages to be derived from a settlement in the country newly discovered by Verazzano, was, for a time, utterly forgotten; and it is ten years before we find a similar expedition leave her shores.

In the same year that France made her first attempt in the north, an expedition under Gomez left Spain, with the view of finding a northern and shorter passage to the Moluccas. He appears to have reached the latitude of 40°, and without making any material discovery, returned, after a voyage of ten months.

On the 20th of May, 1527, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the eighth Henry, an expedition "of two faire ships wel manned and victualled, having in them divers cunning men, set forth out of the Thames to seek strange regions." The project was undertaken at the earnest suggestion of Mr. Robert Thorne, of Bristol, a great patron of naval enterprise. Hakluyt (iii. 129) laments that he was unable to learn the names either of the vessels or their commanders, or any details of the voyage, "by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving of the memories of the worthy acts of our nation." There was only an indistinct idea abroad that one of the ships was named the "Dominus Vobiscum."

This version has passed down to the most modern writers, and each succeeding one has not failed to lament the want of more information, until the author of the "Memoir" pointed out in

[3] Robertson's "Charles V." Book 4.

Purchas (iii. 890), a letter, written by one John Rut, the commander of one of the identical vessels engaged in the enterprise, addressed to Henry VIII., which states that the ships' names were "the Mary of Guildford," and the "Samson;" that they reached the latitude of 53°, where they were arrested by the ice; that they afterwards met with a "marvailous greate storm," in which the Samson foundered; and, that they subsequently put into the haven of St. John, where they found Spanish, French, and Portuguese vessels fishing. From this place the letter is dated, the 3rd August, 1527.

On the subsequent proceedings of Rut, the author of the "Memoir of Cabot" has compiled a very pretty narrative. He maintains that Verazzano, (whose voyage in the French service we have before noticed,) was the pilot of the "Mary of Guildford," and that he met with his death at the hands of the natives at Baccalaos. To prove his assertion, he adduces the following evidence:—Ramusio says, that in his *last* voyage, (naming no date,) Verazzano having gone ashore with some of his companions, they were all killed, roasted, and eaten by the natives, in the sight of those who remained on board; and the author of the "Memoir" wishes to connect with this, the statement made by the captain of a caravel, named Navarro, who was at Porto Rico in 1527, when an English ship arrived there, and her commander, in answer to his questions, said that he, with another vessel, had been despatched to seek the land of the great Cham; that they had been repulsed by the ice in the northern seas; that the other ship had foundered; and that his pilot, *a Piedmontese by birth*, had been killed by the natives at Baccalaos. The whole of this statement, at least, all that refers to the supposed dreadful death of Verazzano, falls to

the ground, when we find that, beyond all doubt, he was alive in 1537, as already stated at page 31. It seems extremely probable that Sebastian Cabot and Sir John Pert, did *not* touch at Porto Rico in 1517, as has been hitherto imagined; but that Rut visited it in 1527, and was the adventurer who caused so much alarm to the Spanish government.

After an interval of ten years, the French, at the instigation of Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, again set forth on the career of northern discovery. The command of two ships, of sixty tons each, was accepted by Jacques Cartier, to whom the little fishing-town of St. Malo is proud of having given birth. He sailed on the 20th April, 1534, and the account of his voyage in Ramusio, and also in the "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," by L'Escarbot, is very interesting. It is written in the third person, and it does not appear that he was himself the author. It represents him to have circumnavigated Newfoundland, and to have proceeded for some time in his course up the Bay of St. Lawrence, being the first European that visited it; but the season being far advanced, he appears to have thought it better to reserve, for another voyage, the further examination of what promised to be a glorious field for exploration. He returned, therefore, by the straits of Belle Isle to St. Malo, where he arrived on the 5th September, 1534.

Cartier was received, on his return, with the consideration due to the importance of his discovery; and, through the influence of the Vice-Admiral of France, a warm patron of the undertaking, obtained a new commission, with much more extensive powers than before. On the 19th May, 1535, he again sailed, with three ships,

respectively of a hundred-and-twenty, sixty, and forty tons burden, which, soon after their departure, were separated in a storm, and did not meet with each other until the 26th of July, when they proceeded to examine the large gulf which he had formerly entered. "It was," to use the words of Cartier, "a very fair gulf, full of islands, passages, and entrances, to what wind soever you pleased to bend, having a great island, like a cape of land, stretching somewhat further forth than the others."

This island they named L'Isle de l'Assumption, it was that now known as Anticosti, a corruption of Natiscotec, the Indian name for it to this day. To the channel between it and the opposite coast of Labrador, Cartier gave the name of St. Lawrence, which has since been extended to the whole gulf. The French ascended the river as far as the Indian city of Hochelaga, receiving on all sides expressions of friendly feeling from the aborigines, indeed, so much so, that on arriving at that city, their credulity and admiration were such, that they brought their paralytic old king, Agonhanna, to be touched, and as they believed, cured by the Admiral.

Shortly after, the French were attacked by the scurvy, since so fatally familiar to the seamen, but happily discovered, through the Indians, a cure for it, in a decoction of the leaves and bark of the North American white pine. They also now, for the first time, became acquainted with tobacco; and their astonishment may well be conceived, at seeing the natives "suck so long, and fill their bodies so full of smoke, that it came out of their mouths and nostrils, even as out of the tunnel of a chimney."

Preparations were now made for leaving Hoche-

laga, which name the French had changed to that of Mont Royale, since corrupted into Montreal. "Time has now swept away every trace of Hochelaga:—on its site the modern capital of Canada has arisen; 50,000 people of European race, and stately buildings of carved stone, replace the simple Indians and the huts of the ancient town."[4] But before their departure, by a piece of duplicity which calls for the strongest reprobation, they seized the Indian chief who had received them so kindly, and setting sail, arrived safely at St. Malo on the 6th July, 1536.[5]

Though this discovery was of such importance, it does not appear that the French, until some years afterwards, thought Canada worthy of another visit, although it offered so many advantages for colonization. "The weak and shallow prejudice, which at this time prevailed in most of the nations of Europe, that no countries were valuable except such as produced gold and silver, threw a damp over the project, and for nearly four years the French monarch would listen to no proposals for the establishment of a colony."

In April, 1536, an expedition left England, consisting of two ships, named the Trinitie and the Minion. The scheme originated with "Master Hore, of London, a man of goodly stature, and of great courage, and given to the study of cosmographie; and among the company were many 'gentlemen of the Inns of Court and of Chancerie.'" After a tedious passage, the gentlemen reached Cape Breton; but they were soon arrested in their progress by famine, and their privations eventually became such, that one individual, in order to prolong his own miserable existence,

[4] Warburton's "Conquest of Canada."
[5] Ramusio, v. iii., p. 453.

killed one of his companions, "while he stooped to take up a root for his relief."[6] They were at the very last extremity when a French vessel unexpectedly arrived, "well furnished with vittaile," of which, thrusting aside all scruples as to the honesty of the transaction, they speedily made themselves masters, and hastened home, where the Frenchmen followed, and making complaints to Henry VIII., "the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subjects, was so moved with pitie that he punished not his subjects, but of his own purse made full and royal recompence unto the French."[7]

We have said that, for some years, the French omitted to follow up the successful issue of Cartier's second voyage; their next attempt was the result of a private adventure. Jean François de la Roque, the Sieur de Roberval, a wealthy nobleman of Picardy, requested permission to found a settlement in the country, and this Francis readily granted, besides conferring on him a long string of empty and ridiculous titles, such as Lord of Norimbega, Lieutenant-General, and Viceroy in Canada, Hochelaga, Sanguenay, Newfoundland, Belleisle, Carpon, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos; which, truly, if merited by any one, ought to have been conferred upon Cartier. A subordinate command only was given to this great French seaman, who was ordered to set sail with five vessels, leaving his lordship, the lieutenant-general and viceroy, to follow, when the path should have been cleared of a few of the difficulties:—and not a few of these had to be surmounted.

Donnaconna, the aged chieftain who had been so nefariously carried off, had died in France, and

[6] Hakluyt, v. iii., p. 130. [7] Ibid. p. 131.

when Cartier revisited the scene of his former amicable intercourse with the Indians, they observed a totally different demeanor toward him:—whilst before they had exhaused all their arts and persuasions to induce him to stay amongst them, they now resisted, by every means in their power, any attempt at a settlement, until at length the French were obliged, for their defence, to build a fort near the present site of Quebec. We have already, in the voyages of the Cortereals, had a sad example of the fatal results of any attempt to break asunder all ties of relationship and humanity by forcing the Red Indian to become the slave of his white fellow creature; it was only by acts of the most signal vengeance that the western hemisphere was saved from that disgraceful traffic, which is the foulest blot in the annals of the eastern.

It is impossible not to be struck with the determined resistance which has ever been made by the aborigines of North America to these kidnapping adventures, and likewise the fact, that the indiscretion of one traveller is almost invariably visited, at some future period, on the perhaps unoffending head of the next who may happen to traverse the same path. But to return. After a long interval, Roberval arrived at the scene of action, but a jealousy existed between him and Cartier, and at length the desertion of the latter gave the death blow to an enterprise which could only succeed when commanded by an experienced seaman, and it was subsequently abandoned. In 1549, Roberval, who seems to have been a man of great spirit, and his brother Achille, made another attempt at a settlement; their names may be added to the list of voyagers and travellers who have fallen victims to the imprudence of those who had preceded them—they were never heard of more.

Certainly no prince ever gave higher hopes of a promising reign than Edward VI. According to Burnet, while yet a child,[8] "he knew all the harbours and ports both of his own dominions and of France and Scotland, and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them." "Naval affairs had seized his attention as a sort of passion," and when the merchants began to turn their views towards the north-east—in their attempts to discover a passage to the Indies having met with such severe rebuffs in the north-west,—we find him entering into their schemes with a spirit and energy surprising in one so young. At this critical moment there happened to be in London no less a person than Sebastian Cabot, a sketch of whose life since we last heard of him may not be uninteresting.

After his voyage, in conjunction with the faint-hearted Sir Thomas Pert, in 1517, he appears to have returned to Spain, where he was created by the emperor, pilot-major, an office of great importance and responsibility. He was also a member of the famous conclave, held at Badajos, in April, 1524, appointed to settle the dispute between the kings of Spain and Portugal as to their respective titles to the Moluccas, to which both monarchs laid claim, each affirming that they came within the grant of the papal bull to himself. On their decision being proclaimed, that the Moluccas were situate by at least twenty degrees within the Spanish limits, a company was formed to prosecute the trade to these islands, and the command of a squadron of ships having been given to Cabot, he was permitted, after numberless vexatious obstacles had been thrown in his way by the agents of Portugal, to depart in the beginning of April, 1526.

[8] "History of Reformation," v. ii. p. 225.

In this voyage Cabot sailed up the Rio de la Plata for a distance of three hundred and fifty leagues, and, after a residence in the country, he returned to Spain, the main objects of his voyage having been defeated, by the machinations of Portugal, but nevertheless adding greatly to his own popularity as a naval commander. He afterwards made several voyages in the Spanish service, but growing old, and doubtless wishing to end his days in his native country, he returned to England.

King Edward soon became aware of the value of Cabot. On the 6th January, 1549, he granted him the munificent pension of two hundred and fifty marks (or 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), "in consideration of the good and acceptable service done, and to be done, unto us by our beloved servant, Sebastian Cabot."[9] If he was not created grand-pilot of England, as questioned by his biographer (pp. 176 and 311), certain it is, that the functions of his office were most varied and important. Placed at the head of a company of merchants, composed, as it is said, of men of great wisdom and gravity, preparations were diligently made for a north-eastern expedition of discovery. A sum of 6,000*l.* was raised, by shares of 25*l.* each, in order to defray the expenses of the undertaking, and the three ships, of which the expedition consisted, were fitted with everything which experience had proved to be necessary, and, as a further precaution, the keels were covered with "thinne sheets of leade," which is the first instance on record in England of the practice of sheathing, a method however long before adopted in Spain.

The next step was to secure a fitting commander, an object of high ambition to many, and the choice finally fell on Sir Hugh Willoughby,

[9] "Rymer," v. xv. p. 181.

"a most valiant gentleman," but probably no sailor. Richard Chancelor, "a man of great estimation for many good parts of wit in him," qualifications which now-a-days would have very little weight with the Lords of the Admiralty, was appointed to the command of one of the ships, with the title of pilot-major, with Stephen Burrough, afterwards chief-pilot of England, as master; William Burrows, afterwards comptroller of the navy, and Arthur Pet, a name associated with northern discovery at a future day, were also in the same ship. Finally, when all the arrangements were completed, Cabot drew up a code of instructions for the government of the expedition, which reflect the highest credit on his sagacity, good sense, and comprehensive knowledge.

These instructions are entitled, "Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements of and for the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the Right Worshipful M. Sebastian Cabota, Esq., Governour of the Mysterie and Companie of the Merchants Adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and place unknowen, the 9th day of May, in the yere of our Lord God, 1553, and in the 7th yeere of the reigne of our most dread Sovereigne, Lord Edward VI., by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreme head."[10]

On the 20th May, 1553, the three ships dropped down to Greenwich, on which occasion we have the following spirited sketch. "The greater shippes are towed with boates and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet, or skie-coloured cloth, rowed amaine and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich

[10] "Hakluyt," vol. i. p. 226.

(where the Court then lay), presently, upon the newes thereof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke upon the shoare, the Privie Counsel they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne up to the toppes of the towers; the shippes hereupon discharge their ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the manner of warre and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stood in the poope of the ship, and, by his gestures, bids farewell to his friendes in the best manner hee could. Another walkes upon the hatches, another climbes the shrouds, another stands upon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas!) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee, only by reason of his sicknesse, was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships the lamentable and most sorrowful accident of his death followed."[11]

They were detained at Harwich till the 23rd, when they finally "hoysted up sale," and bade adieu to their native country: "many of them looked oftentimes backe and could not refraine from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what uncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of." Chancelor himself was moved; "His natural and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him two little sonnes, which were in the case of orphanes if he spedde not well."[12]

On the 14th July they were among the nume-

[11] "Hakluyt," p. 245. [12] Ibid.

rous islands which stud the coast of Norway, in the 66° of latitude, and proceeded onward to Seynam (or Senjen, as it is called on the Admiralty chart), where they touched, but without success, for a pilot. They then continued their course. Willoughby had appointed Wardhuys (a sea-port of Finmark, in north latitude 70°, and 30° east longitude,) as a place of rendezvous in case of the fleet being separated; the very same day that this arrangement was made, a terrible gale arose, and, off the North Cape, the vessels of Willoughby and Chancelor separated, never again to meet. When the morning dawned, only the smaller vessel, the Confidentia, was in sight. The Admiral continued his course, and on the 14th of August, one hundred and sixty leagues E. by N. of Senjen, he came in sight of land,[13] which was evidently Nova Zembla, somewhere, it may be assumed, between the promontories named in the Admiralty Polar Chart, North and South, Gousinoi Nos. From this they endeavoured to push to the northward, but being repeatedly repulsed, they turned their sails towards Wardhuys, and began to grope their way along the naked and barren coast of Russian Lapland, until they at length took shelter in the mouth of the river Arzina, near Kegor, from whence parties were sent out three and four days journey, but they returned "without finding any people or any similitude of habitation."

[13] Willoughby's important and fatal voyage has been very ably treated in a recent volume of the Hakluyt Society's invaluable reprints, the "Narratives of North-Western Voyages, 1496 to 1631," by Thomas Rundall, Esq. The author has had the advantage of the rich store-house of early records in the possession of the Honourable East India Company. It is indeed to be hoped that the Hakluyt Society, whose labours tend to disseminate geographical works which have been hitherto confined to the shelves of the wealthy, or buried in the archives of national collections, will receive the support that is justly due from a nation so eminently maritime as England.

These are the closing words of Sir Hugh Willoughby's journal, found two years later by some Russian fishermen, while wandering along the coast, lying before the stiff and frozen corpse of the noble commander; every soul in both ships, to the number of seventy, had perished, either through famine or the intense cold. The ships were recovered, and with the dead bodies in them, were sent to England, but on the passage they "sunk with their dead, and them also that brought them." The well known lines of Thomson record in beautiful language this frightful catastrophe.

"Miserable they!
Who, here entangled in the gathering ice,
Take their last look of the descending sun;
While, full of death and fierce with tenfold frost,
The long long night, incumbent o'er their heads,
Falls horrible. Such was the Briton's fate,
As with first prow, (what have not Britons dared!)
He for the passage sought, attempted since
So much in vain, and seeming to be shut
By jealous Nature with eternal bars.
In these fell regions, in Arzina caught,
And to the stony deep his idle ship
Immediate seal'd, he with his hapless crew,
Each full exerted at his several task,
Froze into statues; to the cordage glued
The sailor, and the pilot to the helm."—*Winter.*

But we willingly turn from this fearful scene, which has something inexpressibly melancholy in it, to sketch the successful issue of Chancelor's voyage. It will be remembered that on the day of the dispersion of the fleet, Wardhuys had been appointed as the place of rendezvous in case of any accident occurring.

Thither Chancellor steered, and after waiting seven days for his commander, notwithstanding the prayers of "certaine Scottishmen," that he would not proceed farther on his dangerous course, he remained "stedfast and immutable in his first reso-

lution, determined either to bring that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death;" and happily his crew, "though troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde" with regard to their lost companions, were yet willing to follow their commander, which constancie of minde in all the companie, did exceedingly increase their captain's carefulnesse."[14] He therefore put to sea, and held on his course "towards that unknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the sunne shining clearly upon the huge and mightie sea. And having the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great bay, which was one hundreth miles or thereabout over. Whereinto they entered somewhat farre, and cast anchor."

This "great bay" was no other than the White Sea, a discovery of no little importance; soon after they landed at Archangel, in those days nothing but a castle, and, "looking every way about them, it happened that they espied a farre off a certain fisher boate, which Master Chancelor, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towards to commune with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what countrey it was, and of what people, and of what manner of living they were; but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe (for in these parts before that time they had never seen the like), beganne presently to avoyde and to flee; but hee still following them at last overtooke them, and being come to them, they (being in greate feare as men halfe dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kisse his feet; but hee (according to his great and

[14] Hakluyt, v. i. p. 246.

singular courtesie) looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those dueties and reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider how much favour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himself. For they, being dismissed, spread by and by a report abroad of the arrival of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie; whereupon the common people came together, offering to these newecome ghests victuals freely."[15]

In answer to his enquiries, he was told that he had discovered part of a vast territory, which was under the absolute control of a sovereign, named Ivan Vasilovitch; Chancelor, neither daunted by the immense distance to the court of this monarch, which was held at Moscow, nor by the perilous journey of six hundred miles, which he would have to perform over the snow in sledges, began immediately to negociate for permission to visit this great prince, which, after the delay of sending to Moscow, he obtained. It does not come within our province to follow him step by step in his perilous journey, suffice it to say. that his reception by the monarch was most cordial, and he returned to England, after having laid the foundation of an important commerce between the two nations.

The following description of Moscow given by Chancelor, shows it to have been at that time a place of great business, and that its intercourse extended then to the northern sea-coasts:—"I take Moscow to be greater than London, with the suburbs; but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber, very dangerous for fire. The ground (country round) is well stored with corn, which they carry to the

[15] Hakluyt, v. i. p. 246.

city of Moscow in such abundance, that it is wonder to see it. You shall meet in a morning seven or eight hundred sleds coming from, or going thither, some carry corn, some fish. Some that fetch corn from thence dwell at the least one thousand miles off, and all their carriage is on sleds. Those which come so far, dwell in the north part of the duke's dominions, where the cold is so extreme it will suffer no corn to grow."

The success of Chancelor infused new vigour into the proceedings of the association of merchant adventurers, who now assumed the title of the Muscovy Company, and Chancelor was again sent out, for the joint purposes of trade and discovery, in 1555. He was returning to England, with an ambassador from the emperor, and a cargo worth 20,000*l.*, when his vessel was driven on shore, by a tempest, in Pitsligo Bay, near Kinnairds Head.

"Using all carefulness for the safetie of the bodie of the said ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boate of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to save and preserve the bodie, and seven of the companie or attendants of the same ambassadour; the same boate, by rigorous waves of the seas, was by dark night overwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand pilot, with seven Russes, but also divers mariners of the said ship; the noble personage of the said ambassadour, with a fewe others (by God's preservation and special favour), only with much difficultie saved." [16]

The ambassador subsequently proceeded to London, where he was most sumptuously received by Philip and Mary, and where he remained for about three months.

On the 3rd May he "departed from London to

[16] Hakluyt, v. i. p. 286.

Gravesend, accompanied with divers aldermen and merchants, whō in good gard set him aboard the noble shippe the Primrose, admiral to the fleete, where leave was taken on both sides and parts, after many imbracements and divers farewels, not without expressing of teares."

CHAPTER IV.

Stephen Burrough sent out by the Muscovy Company—Frobisher's first Voyage—His supposed Discovery of Gold, and second Expedition—His Third Voyage to Colonize Meta Incognita, with its total Failure and Disappointment—Projected Fourth Voyage.

MEANWHILE, during Chancelor's absence on that voyage in which he subsequently lost his life, the Muscovy Company had fitted out a small vessel, called the Searchthrift, which, on the 29th April, 1556, sailed from Gravesend, under the command of Stephen Burrough, the master of Chancelor's ship in his first voyage. Previous to their sailing, the "Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabot," and a large party of ladies and gentlemen, paid a visit to the vessel, and examined all the preparations with great interest, and afterwards the "goode olde gentleman, Master Cabota," gave a banquet, at which, "for very joy that he had to see the towardness of their discovery, he entered into the dance himselfe amongst the rest of the young and lusty company."

It was not until the middle of July that Burrough reached the Straits of Waigatz, where he was beset on all sides by "monstrous heaps of ice," and was constantly in danger of being annihilated by these enormous masses coming in collision with each other. They were likewise nearly capsized by an immense whale, which, however, they managed to affright by shouting. Burrough penetrated about

fifteen leagues beyond the mouth of the river Pechora, but all his efforts to proceed farther proved abortive, and he therefore returned, with the intention of again resuming the attempt.

In order to preserve a strict chronological order, we have now to turn our faces to the north-west. The name of Martin Frobisher is one of which this country may well be proud; and yet his connexion with the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" is all that is remembered of him by many. Mr. Barrow truly says, in his "Naval Worthies of Elizabeth's Reign"—"He was one of those men, who by their zeal, energy, and talent, acquired and preserved for Queen Elizabeth the proud title of 'Sovereign of the Seas;'" but few, however, know that he earned his early honours in a northern clime: few know, that for fifteen long years he was continually pressing upon the minds of his friends, and the merchants of the city of London, the desirableness of renewing the attempt to find a passage by the north-west; the former proved lukewarm, and the latter, he soon perceived, were not wont to regard "venture without sure certaine and present gaines." When, indeed, will the time come that a noble idea shall receive from the world the attention which is its due, uninfluenced by any sordid or narrow-minded motive.[1]

At length, however, Frobisher found a friend at court in Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, by

[1] "Let those who are disposed to faint under difficulties, in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that eighteen years elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise before he was enabled to carry it into effect; that most of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule; that the prime of his life had wasted away in the struggle; and that when his perseverance was finally crowned with success, he was about his fifty-sixth year. This example should encourage the enterprising never to despair." (Washington Irving's "Life of Columbus," v. i. p. 174.)

whose assistance, in the year 1576, he was enabled to equip three vessels, respectively of the insignificant dimensions of thirty-five, thirty, and ten tons! which, however, experience has proved, were much better adapted for Arctic exploration, than ships of a larger measurement. On the 7th of June they weighed from Deptford, and dropped down to Greenwich, where Elizabeth then held her court. Here salutes were fired, the queen waived her hand from the windows, and likewise sent a gentleman on-board, "to make known her good likings of their doings," and wishing them "happie successe." On the 19th the fleet was off Yarmouth, and thence stood out to sea. Nothing of any moment occurred until they were off the Shetlands, when one of the ships sprung a leak.

On the 11th July land was discovered in 61° N., rising like "pinacles of steeples, and all covered with snow," evidently the southern part of Greenland. Attempts were made to effect a landing but without success, and in a very severe storm which was experienced, the pinnace, with her crew of four hands, was lost, and the Gabriel, their other companion, "mistrusting the matter, privily conveyed themselves away," and reached England in safety. Frobisher, however, bore up gallantly against these mischances, so ruinous to the hopes of an aspirant for naval fame:—he altered his course, and stood to the south-west for seventeen days, when he made land in 62° 2′, shut up by an impenetrable barrier of ice, and no soundings with one hundred fathoms. This dreary coast is supposed to have been part of Labrador.

"On the 13th of July an incident occurred, which is not noticed in the printed accounts of the voyage, but which is too creditable to Frobisher to be suppressed. On the day above named, the

Gabriel was in the utmost danger of foundering, and the crew ran great hazard of perishing with their vessel. From this melancholy fate they were saved by the promptness, energy, and judgment of their commander. On the day above named, the manuscript states: 'In the rage of an extreme storm the vessell was cast flat on her syde, and, being open in the waste, was fylled with water, so as she lay still for sunk, and would neither weare nor steare with any helpe of the helme, and could never have rysen agayn, but by the marveilous work of God's great mercy to help them all. In this distress, when all the men in the ship had lost their courage and did dispayr of life, the Captayn, *like him-selfe*, with valiant courage, stood up, and passed alongst the ship's side, in the chaynwales (channels), lying on her flat syde, and caught holde on the weather leche of the foresaile; but in the weather-coyling (going about) of the ship, the foreyarde brake. To ease her, the mizenmast was cut away; but she still rolled heavily, so that the water, 'yssued from both sydes, though withall without anything fleeting over.' As soon as practicable, the poor storm-buffeted bark was 'put before the sea,' and all hands were set to work to repair damages."[2]

The queen's name was given to a cape, fallen in with in latitude 62° 30′, and more northerly they met with another foreland, in 63° 8′, which was the southern extreme of "a great gut bay, or passage, divided as it were by two maine landes, or continents assunder."

Into this strait, to which he gave his own name and by which it is still known, Frobisher penetrated between fifty and sixty leagues, at which point he met with a "salvage people, like to Tartars, with

[2] "North-West Voyage," pp. 11-12.

longe blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noses, the women marked in the face with blewe streckes downe the cheekes and round about the eyes, having bootes made of seales skinnes, in shape somewhat resembling the shallops of Spain." Here Frobisher lost a boat's crew of five men, and, notwithstanding he "shotte off falconets and sounded trumpets," he never again heard of them. In revenge, he managed, by tinkling a bell, to entice one of the natives to the ship's side, and "plucked him, by main force, boat and all, into his barke, whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdaine, he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth, notwithstanding he died not thereof, but lived untill he came to England, and then died of cold which he had taken at sea." With this "strange infidell on board, whose like was never seene, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither knowen nor understood of any," Frobisher put to sea and reached Harwich on the 2nd October.

Frobisher's reception at home was very flattering; "he was highly commended of all men for his great and noble attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought, of a passage to Cataya." Nevertheless, it is more than probable that very little attention would have been given to the prosecution of the discovery but for a singular incident, which was the occasion of as perfect a *furor* among the merchants, the court, and indeed the whole nation, as the California of more modern times.

"Some of his company brought floures, some greene grasse, and one brought a piece of blacke stone, much like to a sea cole in color, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of metall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captaine at the first sight, and yet

for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came. After his arrival in London, being demanded of sundry of his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to present them withal but a piece of this blacke stone, and it fortuned a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers wives, to have a piece thereof, which, by chance, she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth and quenched in a little vinegar, it glistened with a bright marquesset of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain goldfiners in London to make assay thereof, who gave out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the same goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to have a lease at her Majesty's hands of those places, whereby to enjoy the masse of so great a public profit unto their owne private gaines.

"In conclusion, *the hope of more of the same golde ore* to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to advance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere following, and the captaine more especially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore than for the searching any further discovery of the passage."[3]

There are two different versions of this story, which it is not worth while to go into; it is quite sufficient for us to know that cupidity was the real cause of the renewal of the attempt. Frobisher's

[3] "Hakluyt," v. iii. 59.

second expedition consisted of the Ayde, a royal ship of nearly two hundred tons, the Gabriel and the Michael, his former ships, of thirty tons each. He sailed with a "merrie wind" from Blackwall on the 26th May, 1577, and on the 7th June he was off the Orkneys, where we have the following graphic sketch of the inhabitants from the pen of George Best, the chronicler of the voyage and lieutenant of Frobisher. "Their houses are builded of Pibble stone, without chimnies, the fire being made in the middest thereof. The goodman, wife, children, and other of their family, eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other. Very beastly and rudely in respect of civilitie. They are destitute of wood; their fires are turffe and cowhards. . . . Their houses are but poore without, and sluttish ynough within, and the people, in nature, thereunto agreeable. They have great want of leather, and desire our old shoes and apparell, and old ropes (before money), for victuals, and yet they are not ignorant of the value of our coine."

On the 16th July they arrived at the entrance of Frobisher's Strait, which however they did not attempt to explore, "considering the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeavour for the getting of myne, and to leave the passage further to be discovered hereafter."

On the 22nd August, having collected about two hundred tons of ore, they left the island, whence it had been principally obtained, at the same time "giving a volley of shot for a farewell, in honour of the Right Honourable Lady Anne, Countess of Warwick, whose name it beareth." After a stormy and dangerous passage, in which the ships narrowly escaped foundering, they got safe home, though at different ports.

Their arrival was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by all classes. The queen imagined she had discovered a land which, though barren in prospect, was equal, if not superior, in wealth to the Indies of the south; the trader dreamt of prosperous ventures and unexampled profits, and the cosmographer and the seaman, uninfluenced by any sordid motive, thought of nothing but the speedy solution of what was, even in that day, considered a *vexata questio*—the north-west passage.

A similar delusion, that gold was to be found in the north, existed in very early times. Mons. La Peyrere informs us, that from the Danish chronicles, it appears the kings of Denmark and Norway, towards the end of the thirteenth century, sent ships to Greenland, from the then received opinion, that it abounded in veins of gold and silver and precious stones; and he adds, "perhaps that passage in Job[4] had made some impression on their minds—'Gold cometh out of the north!'" The same Danish chronicle also adds, "that in former times, certain merchants returned from Greenland with great riches."[5]

[4] Chap. xxxvii., v. 23. This is a marginal reading in our version.

[5] It was an idea entertained by Columbus, that, as he extended his discoveries to climates more and more under the torrid influence of the sun, he should find the productions of nature sublimated by its rays to more perfect and precious qualities. He was strengthened in this belief by a letter written to him at the command of the queen, by one Jayme Ferrer, an eminent and learned lapidary, who, in the course of his trading for precious stones and metals, had been in the Levant and in various parts of the East; had conversed with the merchants of the remote parts of Asia and Africa, and the natives of India, Arabia, and Ethiopia, and was considered deeply versed in geography generally, but especially in the nature of those countries from which the valuable merchandise in which he dealt was procured. In this letter, Ferrer assured Columbus that according to his experience, the rarest objects of commerce, such as gold, precious stones, drugs and spices, were chiefly to be found in regions about the equinoctial line,—where the inhabitants were black, or darkly coloured, and that until the admiral should arrive among people of such com-

However, be this as it may, the utter worthlessness of the ore, which was nothing better than micaceous sand, similar to that sent home by the first Virginian planters, was not yet known, and, consequently, the greatest excitement was exhibited on all hands. Special commissioners—gentlemen of great judgment, art, and skill—were appointed by her Majesty, "to look thorowly into the cause for the true triall and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertayning."

The commissioners made a most favourable report, both on the ore and the prospects of a passage to India; though upon what evidence it was based is not known;—indeed, the whole of the proceedings of these functionaries is wrapped in great mystery. Arrangements were therefore made for another expedition, on a much grander scale, which embraced likewise a scheme of settlement. For this purpose, one hundred mariners, miners, soldiers, gentlemen, gold-finers, bakers, and carpenters, were selected from the numerous applicants; and the frame of a large house was also constructed, which was to be erected on their arrival at their destination.

The fifteen vessels of which the expedition consisted, assembled at Harwich, on the 27th May, 1578, whence they sailed on the 30th of the same month. About the middle of August, the fleet, after having passed through the most fearful dangers during their progress up the strait, had all assembled in the Countess of Warwick's Sound, with the exception of the Dennis, which had foundered with part of their wooden house on board,

plexions, he did not think he would find those articles in great abundance..—Navarette "Collection," tome 2, document 68. (Washington Irving's "Life of Columbus.")

and the Thomas of Ipswich, which had furtively sailed for England.

The most undaunted courage and ready skill was shown by the commanders of the several vessels during their struggle with the elements at the mouth of the strait. "Some of the ships, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little berth of sea roome, did take in their sayles, and there lay adrift, other some fastened and moored anker upon a great island of yce, that they were faine to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthen the sides of their ships with junk of cables, beds, masts, planks, and such like, which being hanged overboard, on the sides of their ships, might better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said yce * * * and some even without boord, upon the yce, and some within boord upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and ores in their hands, stood almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the yce, with such incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde."

But, "at length it pleased God with his eyes of mercy to look down from Heaven;" he had listened to the prayer so devoutly offered up by those "overlaboured and forewatched" men, who kneeled about the mainmast, and supplicated him for deliverance, and had "sent them help in good time."

The very next day, a fresh wind from W. N. W. drove the ice before it, and gave them an open sea, through which to pursue their course.

"Then ensued a scene which is thus graphically described:—'some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting up their topmast and mend-

ing their sayles and tacklings; againe, some complayning of their false stemme borne away, some in stopping their leakes, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time and labour.'"

Their repairs in some measure finished, Frobisher again turned his attention to the prosecution of the voyage. "The seventh of July as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about toward the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in form like the Northerland of the Straits, which some of the fleetes, and those not the worst mariners, judged to be the North foreland: however other some were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be discerned by reason of thicke fogge which a long time hung upon the Coast, and the new falling snow which yearely altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners marks. And by reason of the darke mists which continued by the space of twentie days together, this doubt grew the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeed we thought ourselves to be upon the Northeast side of Frobishires Straits we were now carried to the Southwestward of the Queen's Foreland, and being deceived by a swift current coming from the Northeast, were brought to the Southwestward of our said course, many miles more than we did think possible to come to pass.[5]

"The tenth of July, the weather still continuing thicke and darke, some of the ships in the fogge lost sight of the Admirall, and the rest of the Fleete, and wondering to and fro, with doubtful opinion, whether it were best to seeke backe againe to seaward through the great store of yce, or to follow on a doubtful course in a Seas Bay or Straights they knew not, or along a coast, whereof,

[5] Hakluyt, v. iii., p. 79.

by reason of the darke mistes, they could not discerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground should lie off the place, as commonly in those parts it doth.[6]

"The Generall, albeit, with the first, perchance, he found out the error, and that this was not the olde straights, yet he persuaded the fleete alwayes that they were in their right course, and knowen straights. Howbeit, I suppose, he rather dissembled his course." "And as some of the companie reported, *he has since confessed that if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the fleete and freighted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to finde to the rich countrey of Cataya.*"[7]

There can be little doubt but that this strait which "Christopher Hall, the chief pilot, stood up and declared, in the hearing of all the crew, that he had never seen before," was that which is now known by Hudson's name. Whether Frobisher's motive for not "dissolving the long doubt of the passage to the rich countrey of Cataya," was really "the charge and care he had of the fleete," or whether, as the author of Cabot's biography, anxious to build up Pelion upon Ossa the fame of his hero, declares, "his own eager sympathies with the more sordid objects of pursuit which induced him to turn away from the peril and the glory of the onward course," will probably never be determined. But it seems hard to judge so harshly a man whom we have shown, in danger, to have been possessed of such great courage and presence of mind; and whom, in other respects, history has recorded to have been one of the worthiest of the naval worthies of Queen Elizabeth's

[6] Hakluyt, v. iii. p. 80. [7] Ibid.

reign, or to think that he would have turned aside from the attainment of what he well knew was one of the principal objects of his voyage, without a very good and sufficient reason for so doing.

Indeed, if we look at it in one light, his whole mind seems to have been intent on the establishment of the colony; and it was not until that was found impracticable, that he proposed to attempt some discovery, in order to redeem, as far as possible, the unfortunate character of the voyage; which proposal, however, met with the disapprobation of the other commanders.

The fleet, therefore, turned back from the glorious path which was before them; but their retreat was as unfortunate as their entrance had been. They became so involved in fogs and violent currents, "which, even in a moment, turned them round about, after the manner of a whirlpool," that they entirely lost all knowledge of their locality, and became dispersed in all directions, individually suffering the greatest hardships, and passing through countless dangers.

When Frobisher subsequently arrived at his purposed haven, the prospects of the proposed settlement became a matter for serious consideration. The greater part of the materials for the house had been destroyed, either in the foundering of the Dennis, or in suspending them from the sides of the ships, to meet the strokes of the ice.

The dangers they had passed through had destroyed most of their provisions, of which, though so large a quantity had been brought out, there now scarcely remained sufficient for a hundred men during one year. It was therefore determined to abandon the enterprise, and accordingly this was effected, though not without considerable damage to some of the vessels.

We may reasonably suppose that so complete a failure would cause great dissatisfaction to the supporters of the voyage at home. Nevertheless, Mr. Rundall, in his "North West Voyages," (p. 32,) has collected sundry memoranda, which have escaped the ravages of fire, and from which it would appear that a fourth attempt was proposed by Frobisher; this time most probably by the broad strait; but very little is known of it further than that Sir Francis Drake seems to have been a warm promoter of the enterprise.

CHAPTER V.

New Attempt to Discover a North-Eastern Passage, conducted by Pet and Jackman—Project to Colonize America, undertaken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Ralegh——Its Failure—Three successive Expeditions sent out by English Merchants, under Davis, solely for purposes of Discovery—Dutch Expeditions and Discomfitures—Attempt to find a North-Western Passage resumed by the Merchants of London—The Command entrusted to George Waymouth—His ill success.

In 1580, two English barks, the George and the William, commanded by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, sailed for the discovery of a north-eastern passage, and passed the Vaygatch or Waigatz Strait; but eastward of the strait was so full of ice, that after some ineffectual attempts to advance, they were obliged to return. Nevertheless, they found a good depth of sea to the east of the Waigatz, having at one time seventy fathoms water.

On the 11th May, 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, first formed the plan of British colonization in America. He obtained from Queen Elizabeth the gift, for ever, of all such "heathen and barbarous countries" as he might discover; with absolute authority therein, only homage, and a fifth part of the gold and silver obtained, were reserved to the crown. He made two unsuccessful attempts to carry out his object; the first was defeated by the cavilling of the ad-

venturers; in the second, which he himself conducted, accompanied by Sir Walter Ralegh,[1] he was driven back by adverse weather. With unshaken determination, he again sailed with five ships, to take possession of Newfoundland. His force consisted of two hundred and sixty men; and to make up even this insignificant number, captured pirates were taken into the service.

Three days after the expedition sailed, the Ralegh, the largest vessel of the fleet, put back, under the plea that a violent sickness had broken out among the crew, but in reality from faintheartedness on their part. Sir Humphrey pursued his dangerous course, harassed by the misconduct of his followers, and at length reached Newfoundland. The Swallow was now sent home with some of the crew, who were sick, and the Delight, his own ship, of one hundred and twenty tons, shortly after, striking on this unknown coast, went to pieces.

There now, therefore, remained only the Golden Hind, of forty, and the Squirrel of ten tons burthen. On board the latter Sir Humphrey hoisted his flag, and, driven by the bitter alternative either to starve or return with ruined hopes, shaped his course homeward. On the 9th September, they encountered a terrible storm, and the Squirrel was observed to labour dangerously.

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert stood upon her deck, holding a book in his hand, encouraging the crew. 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land,' he called out to those on board the other vessel, as it

[1] It may not be uninteresting to mention, that there are thirteen different ways of spelling the name of this celebrated man, viz., Ralegh, Raleghe, Raleigh, Rawleigh, Rawley, Rawly, Rauleigh, Ralaghe, Rale, Real, Reali, and Ralega. His signature to his letters in the Harleian Collection MSS., and his Journal of his second voyage, is *Ralegh*, and this has been adopted by Sir Robert Schomburgk, in his new edition of "Ralegh's Discovery of the Empire of Guiana."

drifted passed, just before nightfall. Darkness soon concealed his little bark from sight; but for hours one small light was seen to rise and fall, and plunge about among the furious waves. Shortly after midnight, it suddenly disappeared, and with it all trace of the brave chief and his crew. One maimed and storm-tossed ship alone returned to England of that armament which so short a time before had been sent forth to take possession of a new world."[2]

Seven years after Frobisher's disastrous voyage, "divers worshipful merchants of London and the west country, moved by the desire of advancing God's glory, and the good of their native land," concerted among themselves the plan of another attempt, which, throwing aside all thought of gold and precious metals, was to be solely for the discovery of a passage to India. They accordingly purchased two barks, the Sunshine, of fifty tons burden, with a crew of twenty-three persons onboard, including four musicians; the other, called the Moonshine, of thirty-five tons, had a complement of nineteen hands. Master John Davis, of Landridge, in Devonshire, "a man well-grounded in the principles of the arte of navigation," was selected "for captaine and chiefe pilot of the exployt;" the captain of the Moonshine was William Briton.

The ships sailed from Dartmouth on the 7th June, 1585; on the 19th of July, "a great whirling and brustling of the tyde" was heard, during the prevalence of a dense fog. Davis put off from the ship to ascertain what the "mighty great roaring really was, and found that it was occasioned by

[2] "Conquest of Canada," vol. i. p. 281; "Narrative of the Expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert," by Captain Ed. Haies, Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 143—159.

huge masses of ice grinding against each other. They found no bottom with three hundred fathoms of line. The next day they came in view of part of the south-west coast of Greenland, "the most dreary that it was possible to conceive." "The lothsome view of the shore, and the irksome noyse of the yce was such, as it bred strange conceites among us, so that we supposed the place to be wast and void of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation."

The locality thus indicated is not, however, to be confounded with the Cape Desolation of the modern charts; but agrees rather with Cape Discord, on the east side of Greenland, which, from what follows, it is evident the navigator had made.

The following day the wind veered to the northward; and with the change in the wind, the course of the ship was altered. "*So coasting,*" Davis observes in continuation, "*this shore towards the south,* in the latitude of sixtie degrees, *I found it trend towards the west.* I still followed the leading thereof in the same height; and after fifty or sixtie leagues, *it fayled, and lay directly north, which I still followed,* and *in thirty leagues sayling upon the west side of this coast, named by me Desolation,* we were past all the yce, and *found many greene and pleasant isles bordering upon the shore;* but the hils of the maine were still covered with great quantities of snow. *I brought my ship among those isles, and there moored,* to refresh our selves in our weary travell, *in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees,* or thereabout."[3]

They remained at this anchorage for the space of a month, holding most amicable intercourse with the natives; in the midst of which, however, a favourable wind sprung up, and Davis, a steady and excellent seaman, immediately broke off a pro-

[3] "North-west Voyages," pp. 37, 38.

fitable barter for furs in which they were engaged, and put to sea. He steered north-west, directly across the strait, or sea, which now bears his name; and on the 6th August made land, in 66° 40′, which he named Mount Ralegh, and "ankered in a very faire rode, under a brave mount, the cliffes whereof was as orient as golde;" which was named Totnes Road. From this place he sailed along the coast to the south, and on the 11th reached a promontory, to which he gave the name of the Cape of God's Mercy, and rounded it elate with hope, that he had now found the desired passage. He proceeded up this strait or sound, which varies in width from twenty to thirty leagues, until the end of August, the passage being entirely unobstructed by ice, and the water, "of the very colour, nature, and quality of the main ocean." After penetrating eighty leagues, they found a cluster of islands, in the centre of the channel, and beyond the navigation appeared as easy as they had hitherto found it; but becoming involved in fogs, and stormy weather, they determined to return, resolving at some future period to prosecute the enterprise, they accordingly made sail homeward, and arrived on the 30th September.

The discovery by Davis of a free open passage to the westward, inspired sanguine hopes of the ultimate success of the search. He sailed from Dartmouth, on a second voyage, on the 7th May, 1586, in command of four vessels. On the 15th June they reached their old anchorage in Gilbert's Sound, meeting with a cordial recognition from the natives, who soon, however, manifested much less amiable qualities, and took to stealing everything that came within their reach. Davis departed from Gilbert's Sound with one of these pilferers on-board, and stood across the bay. On the 17th

July, in lat. 60°, 8′, they fell in with an enormous quantity of ice, along which he coasted till the 30th, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of his crew, that "by his overboldness he might cause their widows and fatherless children to give him bitter curses." On the 1st August he discovered land, lat. 66° 33′ N., and long. 70° W.[4] Here he was abandoned by one of his vessels, and proceeded by himself in a small bark of thirty tons, on the prosecution of his voyage. On the 14th, sailing west, he discovered land, in 66° 19′ N.; from this a southerly course was shaped, and on the 19th they were in lat. 64° 20′.

On the 4th September, in lat. 54° N., Davis states, he had "perfect hope of the passage, finding a mightie great sea passing between the two lands west." After this, in consequence of severe weather, he thought it prudent to return home.

The third expedition, under Captain John Davis, consisted of the Elizabeth, the Sunshine, and a clinker, called the Helen, and it was only by representing that the expedition would pay for its outfit, by the fishing, that he was able to equip even this insignificant force. He sailed from Dartmouth on the 19th May, 1587, and on the 15th June was again off the old coast. Here the two largest vessels were left to fish, while Davis in his small pinnace, which was found to move through the water like a cart drawn by oxen, set sail and continued to range along the coast, to the northward, till the 30th, when he was in lat. 72° 12′, where he was stopped by an adverse wind; otherwise, he says, he beheld an open sea to the northward. He therefore shaped a westerly course, and ran forty leagues without seeing land.

From the 1st to the 14th July, he was in con-

[4] Query, 60° W. longitude.

tinual fear from the ice, and on the 20th they made Mount Ralegh and the mouth of Cumberland Straits; the northern shore of which he traced for three days, and then, getting becalmed, was not able to extricate himself until the 29th. On the 30th July, "wee crossed over the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or passage, being twenty leagues broad, and situate between sixty-two and sixty-three degrees. In which place wee had eight or nine great rases, currents or overfalls, lothsomely crying like the rage of the waters vnder London Bridge, and bending their course into the sayd gulfe."

This was evidently the entrance to Hudson's Straits, and quaint old North West Fox observes—"Davis and he," (speaking also of Waymouth,) "did, I conceive, light Hudson into his straights." Not being able to see anything of the Elizabeth and Sunshine, and having but half a hogshead of fresh water left, they shaped their course homeward, and arrived at Dartmouth on the 15th September.

Notwithstanding Davis had reached a much higher latitude than any former navigator, he could find no one willing to send him out again. The burden of every one's song was, "This Davis hath been three times employed; why hath he not found the passage?" Added to which, the death of Walsingham, the queen's secretary, and the all-absorbing projected invasion by the Spanish Armada, effectually put a stop to any further attempts, at least for a season.

The next exploratory project was for discovering a passage by the north-east, and was made by the Hollanders. The merchants of the United Provinces, after the great political convulsion, in which they had been well nigh overwhelmed, had some-

what subsided, determined to participate in the advantages of a direct trade with India, which the nations of Europe had hitherto left exclusively in the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They requested permission of the States General, who took so great an interest in the enterprize, that they promised a gratuity of twenty-five thousand florins, if they succeeded; with the privilege of exclusive trade by this new route for eight years.

Three ships and a small bark were fitted out, and the principal command given to William Barentsz, a seaman of great reputation. They sailed from the Texel on the 5th June 1594, and arrived at the mouth of the Kola, in Lapland, on the 23rd of the same month. Here the squadron separated, Barentsz directing his course to the northward of Nova Zembla; and the other vessels under Cornelis Cornelisz Nay, proceeding by the old passage through Waigatz Straits. Following Barentsz, we find him, on the 29th July, in latitude, by observation, 77° north, the most northern point of Nova Zembla, which he named Icy Cape. Further than this he could not advance, on account of large impenetrable masses of ice, which barred the way.

The other division of the fleet made Waigatz Island on the 21st July in latitude 70° 20′ north, and found the water covered with floating trees, trunks, roots, and branches, which they rightly judged came down from some large river. The shore was enamelled with herbage and flowers of every colour and agreeable odour. They persevered in their course until the 1st of August, when they made the passage by the south strait, and entered the sea of Kara, into which they sailed fifty or sixty leagues, until the 12th, when they were in latitude 71° 10′ north. Feeling now con-

vinced, by the rapid southerly bend of the coast, and the blue colour of the water, that they had an open sea before them, and erroneously supposing that that sea washed the shores of that rich country, the wealth of which they so much coveted, they retraced their steps on the 14th, and on the 15th were joined by Barentsz. They arrived home on the 16th September.[5]

The States entered with spirit into the prosecution of an attempt that promised so much. They fitted out seven ships, not with the view of discovery, but laden with merchandize, as if for the actual purposes of trade. The command was again virtually given to Barentsz, and they sailed from the Texel on the 2nd July, 1595.

The ships separated after passing North Cape; some going to the White Sea. Those intended for discovery, arrived, on the 19th August, at the entrance of Waigatz Strait, which they only cleared on the 3rd September, owing to the dangerous navigation. Before them was a fine clear blue sea, of a depth of more than one hundred and ten fathoms, in which great whales were sporting. Everything prognosticated success, when a storm arose from the north-west, and they perceived a large bank of ice drifting down on them. They continued in an unsuccessful endeavour to advance to the north-east, till the middle of the month, the weather increasing in sharpness, and the nights in length. On the 15th, a council was held, and the following resolution passed:—"We, the undersigned, declare that we have done our best before

[5] Burney's "North-East Voyages," pp. 15—28. A narrative of the three voyages of Barentsz was written by Girard le Veer, who accompanied him on the second and third, and was published under the title of "Vraie Description des trois Voyages, de mer, faits par le Nord, vers les royaumes de Cathay et de China." Amsterdam, 1600. Folio.

God and before the world, to penetrate by the north to China and Japan, as ordered by our instructions, until we have seen that it does not please God that we should continue our voyage, and that it is necessary we should desist. We therefore have resolved to make our route back to Holland with all diligence." (Signed by the Admiral, and others of the council.)

The States declined to contribute to another expedition after this failure; but they proclaimed a reward to any who might seek for, and be fortunate enough to discover, the passage; and some public-spirited officials of Amsterdam accordingly equipped two vessels, to which Barentsz was again appointed pilot. They set sail on the 18th May, and sighted Shetland on the 22nd. Here the commanders, Ian Cornelisz Rijp, and Barentsz, differed as to the course to be pursued. Rijp was for keeping to the northward of Nova Zembla, Barentsz for attempting the passage by the old straits. Rijp would not give in, and Barentsz, rather than part company, followed him. On the 9th June, in latitude 74° 30′, they made an island, which they named after the only living creature observed on it, Bear Island. On the 19th, they discovered a much larger island in 80° 11′. "This land, the most northern which to this time had been discovered in the world, has nevertheless verdure and herbage. The animals seen here are white bears, some larger than oxen; rein deer, who feed on moss, and become so fat, that their flesh is excellent eating; here are also foxes, white, grey, and some black. It is named by the Hollanders Spilberg or Spilbergen, signifying sharp pointed mountains."[6]

At this point the commanders again differed,

[6] "Rec. des Voyages de la Comp." vol. i. p. 93, et seq.

and being unable to agree, determined on pursuing each his own course. On the 17th July, Barentsz made the coast of Nova Zembla, pushed his way through numerous obstacles along the west coast, and, on the 26th August, doubled Cape Nassau, the north-east extremity of the island. Here they became involved in fogs and floating ice, which at length closed in upon them, with such violence as to lift the ship entirely out of the water, in an almost perpendicular position, filling them with the greatest apprehension. To extricate the ship from her perilous position was now a hopeless task; and here, in the latitude of 76° north, were these seventeen unfortunate creatures, doomed to endure all the horrors of the dreary Arctic winter, doubly fearful, because unknown.

Like gallant men, however, they threw no chance away, but took every precaution within their means, working cheerfully to build a hut, which was at length, after great labour, finished on the 2nd October. Meantime, each day the cold became more intense. If one of the workmen for an instant inadvertently put a nail into his mouth, as is a common habit, it would bring away the skin on its removal, and cause the blood to flow. Their fine Dantzic beer froze so hard as to break the casks, and all the virtue was concentrated in a very small compass in the middle; the other part of the solid block had merely the taste of bad water. Did they hang up their clothes to dry, the side farthest from the fire was hard frozen. "It seemed as if the fire had lost all power of conveying heat; their stockings were burned before the feet felt any warmth, and this burning was announced by smell rather than by feeling. Yet, in the very midst of these sufferings, remembering that the 6th January was the Feast of the Kings,

they besought the master that they might be allowed to celebrate that great Dutch festival."[7]

On the 4th November the sun disappeared, and with it also a very disagreeable visitor, who occasionally put them in great alarm—the huge white bear. They had, however, the pale light of the moon, and the little arctic fox, whose flesh they found very palatable, and a very agreeable addition to their slender larder.

On the 24th January, they were surprised by the re-appearance of the northern limb of the sun, after a darkness of eighty-one days. Barentsz held out that it was quite impossible that this could take place for fifteen days to come; but the joyful intelligence was confirmed on the 27th;—he was not aware of the great refractory power of the northern atmosphere. The cold, however, continued unabated until April, when it became milder, and they eagerly began to form plans to escape from their prison. The ship was immoveable, and the crew therefore earnestly besought to be allowed to fit up the two boats, which Barentsz at length granted.

After much labour, they succeeded in digging them from out the snow; and by the 11th June, they were tolerably prepared for their perilous voyage. On the morning of the 14th, they all embarked, and bade farewell to the desolate shores on which they had passed those eight terrible months. They stood to the north, and on the 16th were off the northern extremity of Nova Zembla, where they sustained a great loss: Barentsz, who had been long ailing, now approached his end. He was observed, on the morning of the 20th, intently studying a chart of the places they had visited, and shortly afterwards he desired that

[7] "Polar Seas," pp. 157-158.

he might be lifted up in the boat. His wishes were complied with; and while still gazing on the terrible scene of his shipwrecked hopes, the spirit of their estimable commander passed away.

After encountering innumerable privations, the wretched survivors had the good fortune to meet with some Russian loddies, and obtained from them a supply of provisions. They also learnt the gratifying intelligence that three Dutch ships were then lying at Kola; and their joy may be imagined, when, on the 25th August, they arrived there, and found their former companion, Jan Cornelisz Rijp, commander of one of the vessels.

He had been unsuccessful in his northern attempt, and had returned to Holland, and was now on his return from a trading voyage. Of the seventeen men cast on Nova Zembla, but twelve returned to their native land.

The north-western attempts were resumed in England by the "Wor[ll] Fellowship of the M[r]chfits of London, trading into the East Indies." The attention of the Fellowship having been called to the subject, by "a l[r]e written by one George Waymouth, a navigat[r]," it was submitted to "A general Court, holden the 7th of August, 1601," when "question beinge made for the sendinge out of the north-west passage, whether itt shalbe a voyage to seeke itt, or not, beinge put handes, itt was consented vnto for a vyage." Accordingly, two pinnaces, the Discovery, of fifty, and the Godspeed, of forty tons, were fitted out, after a great deal of altercation with the Muscovy Company, on whose rights and privileges they were said to be intruding, until it was decided otherwise by "learned councell," and the command was given to Waymouth, who bound himself down to, 1st.

"Sayle towardes ffretod Davis, and soe forward by the nor-west to the kingdomes of Cataya or China, or the backe side of America." 2nd. "Not to returne of one whole year att the least." 3rd. To keep "a journall of their p'ceedings, to be deliuered to the Companie by the Capt., w^th^in 10 daies after retourne." 4th. "Not to discouer his p'ceedings in the voyadge otherwyse then to the Gou'nor and Company." Lastly, in case of success, 5th. "500 *li.* graunted to the said Capt., after proofe he hath discou'ed the said passadge;" but should the attempt fail, 6th, "The said Captn. doth disable him selfe from all demands for his salary and painesteakinge if he discou' not."

Everything being at length fixed, Waymouth sailed from the Thames on the 2nd May, 1602, and on the 1st June he reached the north latitude of 59° 30′. On the 18th he made Greenland, and two days after Cape Desolation, with its black water "thicke as puddle." Still keeping a westerly course, on the 28th he made Cape Warwick. He now became involved in thick fogs; and, in addition, continued stormy weather, considerably daunted the spirit of the crew. Liable every moment to be crushed to atoms, and affrighted by the "noyse of a great quantity of ice, very loathsome to be heard," the sailors became discontented, and secret conferences took place, at which it was at length determined "to bear up the helme for England." They carried out their mutinous intentions on the 19th July, when Waymouth was asleep in his cabin, and the ship in the latitude of 68° 53′.[8] When Waymouth came forth from his cabin and demanded of them, "Who bare up the helme?" they answered, "ONE AND ALL." The seamen gave as their reasons for this daring step, the impossi-

[8] "North-West Fox," p. 49, says, "This cannot be."

bility of finding a proper place to winter between the latitudes of 60° and 70°, but they state, "that if in your wisedom you shall think good to make any discouery, either in 60° or 57°, with this faire northerly winde, we yeeld our liues with yourselfe to encounter any danger. Thus much we thought needefull to signifie, as a matter builded vpon reason, and not proceeding vpon feare or cowardise."

In latitude 61° 40′ N, var. 35′ W., Waymouth states that he entered an inlet, into which he sailed west by south one hundred leagues. North-west Fox declares this to be "no such matter," and Sir John Barrow (p. 168) "impossible;" and it seems with great reason, for had he pursued such a course, he must have gone on shore on the west side of Ablorialik Bay. There is much to be doubted in Waymouth's account of his voyage; the loose manner in which his journal is kept, from the time of his reaching Cape Warwick to the day when his crew mutined,—his calling every land that he sighted "America,"—and, lastly, the mis-statement which originated with him, that the expedition was fitted out by the Muscovy and Levant Companies, all appear to shew that the commander had somewhat more to do with the "bearing vp of the helme" than he would wish us to believe, and throw a great deal of doubt on the assertion that he reached the latitude of 68° 53′. Fox remarks: "He neyther discovered nor named anything more than *Davis*, nor had any sight of *Greenland*, nor was so farre north; nor can I conceive he hath added any thing more to this designe; yet these two, *Davis* and he, did, I conceive, *light Hudson* into his *straights*."

On Waymouth's return home he was subjected to an examination, to "sattisfy the company of

their returne soe suddenly." Other officers of the expedition were also examined, and they directly charged "Cartwright, the Preacher," with being the cause of the mutiny, and "the said Cartwright" was therefore ordered to give up "the gowne and apparell delivered him, to have been vsed yff the voyage had been made to the partes of Cathaia and China."

Some thoughts it appears were entertained of Waymouth being again sent out, but after a long discussion on the subject, which lasted from November, 1602, to May, 1603, it was abandoned, apparently from pecuniary considerations.

CHAPTER VI.

Private Voyages of Discovery at the expense of Alderman Cherie—The King of Denmark provides a Vessel, but gives the command to British Navigators—Knight sent out by the Muscovy and East India Merchants—Loss of the Captain and part of the Crew—Escape of the remainder to Newfoundland—Hudson's first Expedition under the Muscovy Company—His second, with the Particulars of his Reception by the Natives on the site of New York—Acquisition of Land—Derivation of Name—Hudson's last and Fatal Voyage—Great Hardships—Blockage in the Ice—His Crew Mutiny, and turn him adrift in an open Boat—Their return to England.

In the year 1603, Alderman Sir Francis Cherie, of London, fitted out the Godspeed, at his own expense, and gave the command to Stephen Bennet. Bennet pursued the old course by the North Cape, Wardhuys, and the river Kola, from whence he steered into the northern sea before him, in a N.N.W. direction. On the 16th August he made Bear Island, but not being aware that it had been before discovered by Barentsz, he re-named it Cherie Island. Nothing further was done this year, but Alderman Cherie again dispatched the same vessel and commander, for several successive years on fishing voyages.

The king of Denmark being now desirous of making similar discoveries, and valuing highly the skill of the British navigators, caused two ships and a pinnace to be got ready, and appointed John Cunningham, a Scotchman, the chief cap-

tain, and James Hall, an Englishman, the principal pilot, the rest of the crews being, except John Knight the steersman, either Danes or Norwegians. They sailed from Copenhagen on the 2nd May, 1605, and on the 30th descried the coast of Greenland, in latitude 59° 50′, but were unable to approach on account of the ice. On the 12th June they entered a bight, in latitude 66° 30′, the seamen refusing to proceed further. Here they met with some natives, with whom they were so unfortunate as to come into collision, which ended in a furious onslaught being made on the boats. This forced them to put to sea, and abandoning all further attempts at discovery, they returned home. His Danish majesty the following year again despatched the same ships and commanders. They reached the American shore in the latitude of 60° 15′, and ranged northwards to 63° 33′, when they bore away for Greenland, the coast of which they spent a month in exploring, after which they returned home.

Meanwhile, Cunningham and Hall being engaged in exploring the western coast of Greenland, their former comrade, John Knight, was entrusted by the Muscovy and East India merchants with the command of the Hopewell, a pinnace of forty tons. He sailed from Gravesend on the 18th April, 1606, and was detained fourteen days at the Orkneys, where he shipped "two lustie fellows." Proceeding on his voyage, on the 14th June he was off some broken land, in latitude 56° 25′ N. In latitude 56° 48′ N., the land rose like eight islands.

On the 24th June, a tremendous storm of wind arose, and the ship broke away from her moorings in a small cove in which she was then brought up, and before she could be again secured, had knocked away

her rudder, and was half full of water. Here ends the account of the voyage written by the captain; the rest is from the pen of one of the ship's company.—On the 26th of June, trusting to discover a more convenient harbour, Knight took with him his mate and three men, well armed with muskets, and landed on the opposite coast. The men left in charge of the boat, waited in vain for their return, and dismay seized on them all, when the 28th came and their comrades did not appear. On the night that succeeded that day, a new calamity happened to them:—they were furiously set upon by about fifty "little people, tawnie coloured, thin or no beards, and flat nosed," whose attack appeared to have been premeditated In the darkness of the night, with the rain falling in torrents, and their minds full of horrors, we cannot but admire the courage of these eight stout-hearted men, when we find them driving off their terrible assailants.

The carpenter exerted himself to finish a small shallop he had commenced building, which was, when completed, in no better condition than the crazy ship. But feeling the imperative necessity of exerting every means to free themselves from their perilous position, they got under weigh, preferring the impending danger of foundering, to a second visit from the little people, whom, in their fears, they had designated as man-eaters.

After a most perilous voyage of three weeks, in which their ingenuity as well as their courage was sorely tried, they arrived at Fogo, in Newfoundland, completely worn out by fatigue. Here they were most hospitably received, and reached Dartmouth on the 24th December.

In 1607, the Muscovy Company sent out Henry Hudson, whose name is renowned in connexion

with Arctic discovery. His intentions were, to endeavour to find a passage, if possible, directly across the pole itself. To carry out this bold idea, this great navigator sailed on the 1st of May, in command of a small vessel, the name of which is unknown, with a crew of ten men and a boy. On the 13th of June, Hudson fell in with land, but thick fogs obscured it for several days; when, however, the weather cleared, he beheld a bold headland, covered with snow, and high land behind it, to which he gave the name of the Mount of God's Mercy. His latitude here he estimated at 70°. Ranging north-eastward, in 73° he sighted high bold land, without snow, even on the most lofty summit. To this part of the coast he gave the name of Hold-with-Hope. On the 27th of June, the coast of Spitzbergen was dimly seen through the fog, along which he continued to sail until he had passed, as he says, the latitude of 81½°, and saw it still, stretching continuously as far as 82°; in this, however, he must have been mistaken, and imagined the large fields and masses of ice to have been land, as the northern extreme of Spitzbergen does not lie beyond 81°; unless, indeed, he had stood over to the west, so as to have again fallen in with the Greenland coast. On the 31st of July, his provisions failing, Hudson bore up for home, and coasting along Spitzbergen, some parts of which appeared very agreeable, arrived safely in the Thames on the 15th September.

On the 22nd of April, 1608, Hudson sailed from the Thames in another attempt. He was off the North Cape on the 3rd of June. In latitude 75°, he first fell in with the ice, through which he found it impossible to penetrate, and from which, fortunately he escaped with only "a few rubs."

From the 9th to the 15th of June, little progress was made, on account of the ice and the fog; on the latter day, two of the ship's company solemnly avowed that they had beheld a mermaid, which, however, unfortunately disappeared before others could be summoned to witness the strange sight. Baffled by heavy north and north-easterly gales, Hudson was forced to steer to the southward, "the hopes of a passage being gone this way, by meanes of our nearenesse to Nova Zembla, and the abundance of ice." He landed on the coast, in latitude 72° 12′, and found quantities of whalebone and deer's horns, whilst the sea was full of morses, whales, and seals, which induced him to hope that the expenses of the voyage might be paid by their capture; but he did not succeed in his expectations, and on the 6th July, "being void of hope of a north-east passage," he made sail for England, and arrived at Gravesend on the 26th August.

It is probable that Hudson's patrons were not pleased with his voyage, for we next year find him in the service of the Dutch East India Company, who appear to have again turned their attention to the north. His account of the voyage[1] is, however, very vague and unsatisfactory, a charge indeed which has been brought against him by various writers. He seems to have reached Wardhuys on the 19th of May, and then to have immediately turned the ship's head, and steered direct for the coast of North America. "The truth is, Hudson's own mind seems to have been fixed on north-western discovery. This appears from several hints in his second narrative; and he was, probably, inclined to content himself with a mere show of proceeding eastward, that, apparently baffled, he

[1] See Purchas, and the Collections of the New York Historical Society.

might follow his favourite direction."[2] Hudson thus discovered the bay and river, on the shores of which New York now stands. Of his first arrival off this coast, an extraordinary tradition has been handed down among the native Indians of the neighbourhood, which has been preserved and communicated to the New York Historical Society by the Rev. John Heckewelder, for many years a Moravian missionary to the Indians of Pensylvania.[3]

The narrator states that he received it from various old and respectable Indians of different tribes, about the middle of the eighteenth century. The narration goes into details which it would be useless here to relate; but the substance of it is as follows:—Long since, ere the Indians were acquainted with the existence of white men, some of the natives had been out in the bay fishing, when they discovered at a distance a large floating object, but were unable to determine what it could be, some supposing it to be a huge animal, others a large house; however, hastening ashore, they attracted the attention of their friends to it; and these, on viewing the phenomenon, concluded it would be wise to inform the neighbouring chiefs, that they might summon their warriors in case of danger. In answer to this summons, numbers hastened together, and agreed it must be the Mannitto or Supreme Being coming to them in a large canoe; and the result of a deliberation held by the chiefs on York Island, was the resolution that preparation should be made to receive him with becoming honours. The women prepared the feast, a dance was arranged, and conjurors were set to work to determine who was the visitor, and the

[2] "Polar Seas," p. 167.

[3] "New York Historical Collections," New Series, v. i., pp. 71-74.

purpose of his coming. While all assembled were swayed between hope and fear, messengers came in, bearing intelligence that it was really the Mannitto, with a number of people, arrived in a many-coloured house, and that they were of a different colour, and differently dressed from the natives; one in particular attracted attention from being dressed entirely in red, and he was therefore supposed to be the great Mannitto himself. They were hailed in an unknown language, on hearing which they were terrified; but for fear of offending the supposed divinities, they remained by the shore.

The house or large canoe stopped, and a smaller canoe, with the great Mannitto, put off for the shore, on reaching which he was received by a council of chiefs; friendly greetings passed between them, but the natives were lost in astonishment at his extraordinary appearance, clothed in red and shining with lace, and still more at his having a white skin. The Mannitto, as they still supposed him to be, had a large hockhack or decanter brought, with a cup, and poured some substance into it which he drank, and refilling it, he handed to the circle of chiefs; all were afraid to touch the liquor, till one spirited brave, fearing to offend the great spirit, jumped up and volunteered to drink it. He said it was better for one man to die than for the whole nation to be destroyed by the indignation of the Mannitto, and bidding farewell to the assembly he drank it off, and in short time fell intoxicated, and slept, and they supposing him dead, mourned him accordingly; however, he soon sprang up, declaring he never felt so happy as during his sleep, and drank more, the whole assembly joining him in this, and likewise becoming intoxicated. While this lasted, the strangers

had returned to their vessel, and coming back when the Indians had recovered their senses, made various presents, such as beads, axes, hoes, stockings, &c. After this, the whites departed, promising to return next year, bring more presents, and stay awhile, and saying that they would then ask a little land of them to raise herbs in.

Faithful to their promise, they returned in the following year, and mutually rejoiced at meeting; but the Indians state that the whites laughed at them for the ridiculous use they had made of their presents; they had hung the implements of husbandry as ornaments round their necks, and made tobacco pouches of the stockings. The whites showed them the uses of the various presents, and they then joined in the laughter excited by their ignorance. Even more surprised than they had been on the first visit, they took all the white men for inferior Mannittos, still believing the chief stranger to be a superior divinity.

They became very friendly, and the Mannitto asked for land—only as much as could be encompassed by a bullock's hide. The Indians readily granted this, and the hide being brought, the strangers, much to the astonishment of the natives, cut it up into a thin rope, and thus encompassed a large piece of ground, which they were allowed to retain, not without some astonishment on the part of the natives at being thus outwitted. Peace reigned for a long time between the whites and Indians; but the former, from time to time, asked and obtained grants of land higher up the Hudson, till the Indians believed they would in time take possession of the whole of the country; which at last was actually the case. Ere taking leave of the subject, we may give the substance of a foot-note, by the reverend author, respecting the Indian

name *Mannahattaninh*, or *Mannahachtaninh*, which is to this day applied to York Island, which is said by the Delawares to have been given to it in consequence of the intoxication which took place on the arrival of the whites among them, the word in their tongue meaning the place of general intoxication. On the other hand, however, the Mahicanni or Mohiggans, and the Monseys, ascribe a different origin to the name; the former ascribing it to a particular kind of wood growing there, and the latter from the circumstance of the Indians stringing the beads the whites had given them, the term signifying, in the language of the Monseys, "the place of stringing beads."

On the 17th April, 1610, Hudson sailed from the Thames, on that voyage from which it was his fate never to return. Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir Dudley Digges, and others who were persuaded of the existence of a north-east passage, fitted out a ship called the Discovery, of fifty-five tons, at their own expense, the command of which was given to Hudson. He touched at the islands of Orkney, Fëroe, and Iceland, and, on the 15th June, "raysed the Desolations," where he found the sea full of whales, of whom they stood somewhat in fear. From this, he pursued a north-westerly course, and about the end of the month, met with an island, which Davis had laid down on his chart, now known as Resolution Island. Hudson not being able to go to the north of it, therefore took a southerly course, and fell "into a great rippling, or ouerfall of current, the which setteth to the west." This was the entrance of the great strait, now known by his name, into which he pushed his way, notwithstanding the icy obstacles which were continually placed in his course. But a far greater obstacle to his progress was the increasing dissatisfaction of his crew. In vain did he call

them together, and show them his chart, representing that he had sailed more than a hundred leagues further than any other Englishman;—his consideration for their opinions had the usual effect in such cases;—"some were of one minde, and some of another; some wishing themselves at home, and some not caring wher, so they were out of the ice." However, they were all forced by dire necessity to assist in freeing the ship from her perilous position; and, after several days of harassing weather, on the 11th July, in latitude 62° 9′, he reached some islands, which he named the Isles of God's Mercy. A few leagues further, and Hudson beheld that vast sea open before him, which seemed to be the completion of his most sanguine wishes. He made no doubt but that it was a portion of the mighty Pacific, and feelings of exultation filled his breast at the thought of his having succeeded in accomplishing that which had baffled so many before him.

Hudson named the cape which formed the south-western extremity of the strait, Cape Wolstenholme, and to another cape on the nearest of a group of islands lying off the main, he assigned that of Cape Digges. It was now the 3rd August, a period at which it became imperatively necessary to look for a more genial climate wherein to winter, which, after wandering about for three months, "in a labyrinth without end," they at length found, though no precise locality can be assigned to it. The 10th found them quite frozen in, and the provisions being nearly all gone, the crew had nothing but the prospect of starvation, through cold and hunger, during a long and dreary winter. Hudson endeavoured, by every means in his power, to stimulate his crew to exert themselves in aiding to enlarge their scanty stock, by "propounding a reward to them that killed either beast, fish, or

fowle;" and providentially they killed a great number of white partridge, but when these disappeared, and the sea also no longer yielded any of its denizens, they were reduced to great necessity, and food of the most disgusting description became acceptable. Thus things went on, until at length the ice began to break up, and these poor famished men weighed anchor from the scene of their terrible sufferings. But terrible though those sufferings had been to all, it had taught some of them no lesson of thankfulness for their release; a plot of the most horrible nature was brewing, which, as soon as they had arrived at the entrance of the bay in which they had passed the winter, broke forth. It appears from the Journal of the Voyage, by Abacuk Pricket, printed in Purchas (vol. iii. p. 597), that Hudson had, before sailing from England, taken on board a young man named Green, with the hope of retrieving him from the bad habits into which he had fallen. This wretch, owing to some sharp words which had been used by his commander to him, vowed to have the most deadly vengeance, and, as unfortunately there were not wanting others of a similar unprincipled character to his own, his plan met with ready support. On the morning of the 22nd July, as Hudson came out of his cabin, he was seized from behind by the malcontents, who immediately, and with eight sick men, who were driven from their beds, inhumanly thrust him forth from the ship, and hoisting sail, fled from them as from an enemy.

Thus miserably perished a man, of whom it has been truly said, that he was, "in point of Skill, inferior to few, in regard to Courage surpassed by none, and in point of Industry and Labour hardly equalled by any."[4]

As may be expected, as soon as they had

[4] "Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay," 8vo. 1748. Preface, p. 26.

executed this barbarous deed, the crew fell to plundering the vessel, breaking open chests, and committing all those acts of riot and excess which are usual in such cases, where all control is at an end. Green however, who doubtless was possessed of talent, although so lamentably perverted, endeavoured to restore order. After having been embayed for more than a fortnight among fields of ice, they at length had skill enough among them to guide the ship back to Cape Digges,—the long-desired breeding place of fowls,—to reach which, such was their impatience, that they ran on a rock, where they stuck fast for some hours. But, whilst they were in some measure recruiting their exhausted strength, an unlooked-for catastrophe happened. They had met with a large party of natives, "who, to all appearance, were the most simple and kind people of the world." One day when the boat went ashore for the purpose of collecting the eggs and birds, which now formed their whole sustenance, and when all her people were scattered in this duty, they were suddenly individually set upon by their cunning friends, whom, after a struggle, in which several received their death wounds, with great difficulty they succeeded in repulsing, and then regained the ship. "Thus perished the chief perpetrators of the late dreadful tragedy, visited by Providence with a fate not less terrible than that which they had inflicted on their illustrious and unfortunate victim." The remainder of the mutineers, after enduring the most dreadful privations, arrived off the coast of Ireland, when their last bird was in the steep-tub. They afterwards found means, by mortgaging their vessel, to proceed to Plymouth, when, probably because they had been made to suffer so much already, they were allowed to go unpunished for their dreadful crime.

CHAPTER VII.

Captain Thomas Button sent out under the Patronage and Instructions of Henry Prince of Wales—The Muscovy Company renew their Endeavours—Want of Zeal in their Commander—Merchant Adventurers fit out an Expedition, in the hope of finding the Precious Metals on the Coast of Greenland—Murder of Hall, the Commander—Second Enterprise of the same Company, and Total Failure—Fotherby's Two Voyages—The Muscovy Company persevere in their Exertions—Baffin, sent out under Bylot, signalizes himself—Baffin's second Voyage, his Zeal and Energy—Violent Death of the great Navigator—Letter to Sir John Wolstenholme.

HUDSON'S sad fate doubtless excited great commiseration at home, and it has been thought probable that the next expedition to the northern seas was partly undertaken with a view to ascertain any particulars of his terrible end, for which reason we notice it, although it does not follow chronologically, but from the very little that is known of it, there is no positive evidence to support this charitable supposition. The opening of Hudson's Strait into a vast sea to the westward, was, however, of itself quite sufficient to justify another voyage, and accordingly the Adventurers fitted out two vessels, named like those of the great Cook, the Resolution and Discovery, the first of which was commanded by Captain Thomas Button, an officer in the service of Prince Henry, who is said to have been a man of great skill in maritime matters, as well as, generally speaking, highly talented; and who was subsequently knighted for his eminent services. The Discovery was commanded by Captain Ingram. Button had with him also two volunteers,

named Gibbons and Hawkridge, who commanded similar expeditions at a future day. Mr. Rundall has printed in his "North-West Voyages" a rare fac-similie of the original MS. orders given by Prince Henry to Button, entitled:—

"HENRY P.

"CERTAINE ORDERS AND INSTRUCCONS set downe by *the most noble Prince Henry of Wales*, this 5 of Aprill 1612 vnder his highnes signature and signe manuell and *delieured vnto his seruant Captaine Thomas Button* generall of the company *now imployed about y^e full and perfect discouery of the north-west passage* for the better gouernment as well of the shipps committed to his charge as of the personns in them imployed vppon all occasions whatsoever."

The instructions which follow are drawn up with considerable skill. By them Button was directed to proceed to Digges' Island as soon as possible, "the waie being alreadie beaten," leaving the examination of the shores of the strait to his return. (8.) "Being in (Hudson's Strait): We holde it best for you to keepe the NORTHERNE SIDE, as most free from the pester of ice, at least till you be past Cape Henry, from thence follow the leading ice betweene KING JAMES and QUEEN ANNE'S FORELANDS, the distance of which two capes observe, if you can, and what harbour or rode is neir them, but yet make all the hast you maie to SALISBURY HIS ISLAND, betweene w^ch and the Notherne continent you are like to meet a great and hollowe billowe from an opening and flowing Sea from thence. Therefore, remembering that your end is west, we would have you stand over to the opposite Maine, in the latitude of some 58°, where, riding at some headland, observe well the flood of it come in SOUTH-WEST, then you maie be sure

the passage is that waie; yf from the NORTH or NORTH-WEST, your course must be to stand vpp into it, taking heed of following anie flood, for feare of entering into BAIS, INLETS, or SANDS (? sounds), which is but losse of time to noe purpose." In case of separation, Digges' Island was also appointed as the rendezvous.

The ships being in all respects completed and provisioned for eighteen months, Button sailed in the early part of May, 1612, with Bylot and Pricket, adventurers in the late unfortunate expedition of poor Hudson, as pilots. He arrived safely at Digges' Island, from which he took a *south*-westerly[1] course until he fell in with land, to which he gave the name of CARY'S SWANS'-NEST. His next land-fall he named HOPES CHECK'D, and the same day (13th August), a violent storm arising, he was obliged to seek a harbour for sheltering and refitting his ships. This he found in a small river, in latitude 57° 10′ N., which he named Port Nelson, from his master, who died and was interred here, and which has since become one of the Hudson's Bay Company's principal stations. Having determined on making this their wintering place, they proceeded to construct a barricade, to protect the ships from the inclemency of the weather, and took other precautions to make all snug for the approaching winter, which in the end proved so severe, that several of the crew gave way under it. Button, with a sagacity which proves him to have been a wise commander, gave his crew no time to think of mischief, considering "that the best way of preventing men from murmuring, discontent, and secret conspiracies, was to divert their minds from dwelling on their own unpleasant situation,"[2] and he likewise happily succeeded in obtaining an abundant supply of wild fowl, which of course prevented much

[1] Not *north*-westerly.—See "North-West Voyages," p. 86.
[2] "Barrow," p. 198.

of that dissatisfaction which is the general consequence of hunger.

About the beginning of April in the ensuing year the ice began to break up, although they were not able to extricate the ship from her icy berth for some months after. They then stood along the coast to the northward, until on the 29th July they had attained the latitude of 65°; this was somewhere near the present Cape Comfort, and was the highest northern latitude reached in the voyage. From this point a course was shaped to the southward, until Mansell's Islands were made, and thence a direct passage home. Button gave it as his opinion on his return, that a western passage *did* exist, although, much to his annoyance, he had not succeeded in discovering it.

The enterprising Muscovy Company, in 1610, sent out Jonas Poole, in a small bark of seventy tons, to search for a passage across the pole. He sailed on the 1st March, but after reaching the latitude of 65°, was driven back to Scotland. On the 2nd May he made the North Cape, and then stood for Cherie Island, which, however, owing to the dense fog, he quite missed, and first made the coast of Spitzbergen, along which he pushed to about 77° 30′; the air becoming gradually milder, when his ardour for discovery was entirely turned aside by the sight of a large herd of morses, the capture of which formed his whole pursuit for the remainder of the voyage.

Next year Poole again sailed, and unfortunately did not attempt to redeem his character as an Arctic explorer;—nothing is heard of but the capture of the morse, until his little vessel of fifty tons was quite full. This was her ruin; as the last bale of skins was being brought on board she heeled over, and all the loose skins slipping to the same side, she was carried entirely under water. The crew, who all

escaped with divers serious contusions, were fortunately picked up by a Hull whaler. Poole was again sent out the following year with two vessels, but as his object seems to have been solely the capture of the whale and morse, it seems unjust to place his name among the Arctic voyagers of the seventeenth century; he says, indeed, that Thomas Marmaduke, the captain of the other vessel, penetrated to the latitude of 82°, but as we have no further authority for this assertion, the truth rests on his bare assertion.

While Sir Thomas Button and Jonas Poole were engaged on the above voyages, a new company of merchant adventurers, one of the principal men of which was Alderman Cockin, despatched James Hall, who had already made three voyages to Greenland in the Danish service. The vessels were the PATIENCE and the HEART'S-EASE, and the object of the voyage appears to have been a vague idea of gold and silver mines on the western coast of Greenland; but, with such an idea in view, nothing, as may be supposed, was done. Hall whilst sitting in a boat was stabbed by one of the natives. Sir John Barrow remarks: "The little that is known of this voyage appears to have been written by WILLIAM BAFFIN; and it is chiefly remarkable for its being the first on record, in which a method is laid down, as then practised by him, for determining the longitude at sea by an observation of the heavenly bodies."

The Merchant Adventurers saw in the failure of Button's attempt nothing to discourage them; in fact, they were rather disposed to think otherwise. They accordingly again fitted out one of his ships, the Discovery, the command of which was given to Captain Gibbons, a near relative of Button, and whom the latter declares was not "short of any man that ever yet he carried to sea." Captain Gibbons, unfortunately for his high recommendation, failed most signally. Com-

pletely baffled in his attempts to get through Hudson's Strait, he ran for the coast of Labrador, and here, on the spot where the Moravians afterwards formed their settlement of Nain, he remained for nearly five months, blocked up by the ice. When he did get out, of what his sailors had with some truth dignified with the appellation of "Gibbons his hole," he had of course nothing to do but to return home.

On the 16th April 1614, Robert Fotherby sailed in a small vessel called the Thomasine, in company with the fleet of Greenland ships, which now resorted to these seas for the fishery. After numerous obstructions, he reached, on the 10th of June, Hakluyt's Headland, the north-western extreme of Spitzbergen, where an unbroken line of ice met his view. This, together with bad weather, forced him to return home. The following year Fotherby was again despatched by the Muscovy Company. He advanced as far as 79° 10′, when he became embayed in ice, from which he had scarcely escaped, when he was a second time encompassed; thick fogs, violent storms, and shoals of ice prevented him from making any further progress, and the voyage was abandoned.

Again did the Muscovy Company, with a perseverance which is truly surprising, fit out the Discovery for her third Arctic voyage. The command of the vessel was virtually given to Robert Bylot, who had performed three voyages before to the north; but it is to the intelligent William Baffin, who acted as his mate or pilot, that we may greatly attribute the success of his voyage.

All that was known of this attempt was printed by Purchas, in his "Pilgrims;" but it has since been ascertained by Mr. Rundall ("North-West Voyages," p. 97), that his version of it is sadly incorrect, which has, unfortunately, laid the character of Baffin open to many undeserved attacks. Mr. Rundall has dis-

covered the autograph originals of the narrative, the table of latitudes and longitudes, the Brief Journal, and a letter to the worthy advancers and adventurers of the voyage, all written or compiled by Baffin himself. The excellent letter in which Baffin forwards the other documents to the adventurers, commences by a series of well-turned compliments, which he concludes by saying, that "who so seeketh to sett forth the worthie prayse of our LONDON MERCHANTS, had need bee more then a good rethoritian;" then follow some few directions necessary to the understanding of the Table of latitudes and longitudes, Chart, &c.; the whole letter bearing the evidence of the greatest candour and truth. The "Breefe Iournall" is too long for our pages, but the following is the table of latitudes and longitudes referred to in the letter:—

The LONGITUDE *and* LATYTUDE *of such* PLACES *wheare we haue beene on shore within* RESOLUTION ILAND, *and what Moone doth make a full sea, or the* TYME OF HIGH WATER *or the* CHAINGE DAY; *and also there distance from* RESOLUTION ILAND.

	[1] *	[2] *	[3] *	[4] *	[5] *
	° ′	° ′			
Resolution Iland	66 26	61 30	E. S. E.	7½	Legues.
Saluage iland	72 00	62 30	S. E. 4 E.	8¾	58
Nine legues ½ beyond . .	73 00	62 40	S. E.	9	67½
Broken ilands	74 30	63 46	S. E. by S.	9¾	87
North Shore	80 30	64 40	S. S. E.	10¾	142
6 leagues short of Cape Comfort	85 20	64 45	S. 5 E.	11¾	180
At Cape Comfort	85 22	65 00	S. 5 E.	11¾	186
Sea Horse Poynt	82 30	63 44	S. by E.	11¼	154
Sir Dudly Diggs iland . .	79 40	62 45	S. S. E.	10¾	123
Nottyngam iland . . .	80 50	63 32	S. S. E.	10½	13†

On the 17th March 1615, the Discovery sailed from Blackwall, and after "an indifferent good passage," first sighted the coast of Greenland on the 6th May, a little to the east of Cape Farewell, after

* BLANK IN THE ORIGINAL.? 1, *Longitude.* 2, *Latitude.* 3, *Bearings.* 4, *Time.* 5, *Distance.*

† This corner of the page is torn.

rounding which, they kept a south-westerly course till the 17th May, when they entered Hudson's Strait. On the 1st June they anchored in a good harbour on the west side of Resolution Island, having encountered adverse winds, which stopped their progress to the westward. From this harbour they weighed on the 2nd, and continued groping along the northern shore of the strait, "so well as the ice would give them leaue to gett," until the 8th, when they had reached "a company of ilandes," which they called "Savag Isles, hauing a great sound, or indraught, betweene the north shoare and them." Here they met and had communication with some of the natives, "muche like to the inhabitaunte of Groyneland, sauing that they are not so neate and artefitiall, seeminge to bee more rude and vnciuill, raynginge vp and doune as theare fishinge is in season." Proceeding onward, without anything very particular occurring—save some lunar observations made by Baffin off Broken Point, the accuracy of which, a century after, called forth the praise of Captain Parry—Bylot, on the the 29th June, "raysed Salisbury Island," which, however, on account of the ice, he was unable to approach. He therefore stood to the northward, and succeeded, after great danger, in passing another island, to which, "by reason of the greate extremetye and grindinge of the ice," he gave the name of Mill Island. Often were they in great peril; at one time "the ship was hoysed aloft; and at other tymes shee hauinge, as it were, got the vpper hand, would force greate mighty peeces to sinke downe on the one side of her, and rise on the other. But God, which is still stronger than either rocks, ice, eddy, or streame, preserved vs and our shippe from any harme at all."

Bylot now stood away to the *north*,[3] directly up the broad strait known as the Fox Channel, and on the

[3] "Polar Seas," p. 244, *west*; "Purchas," *north-west*ward; Original MS., *north*.

12th saw a fair cape or headland to the west, to which he gave the name of Cape Comfort, from the good prospects held out of a passage from the strong set of the current. But "owr sudden hopes weare as soon quayld, for the next morninge, hauinge dubbled the cape, when we supposed (by the account of the tyde) we should be sett to the northward, it beinge little or no winde, we weare sett to the contrary." The ship's head was therefore turned to the south, at the time when the land bore N.E. by E. This land Parry afterwards found to be one of several islands, which he named Baffin Island, "out of respect to the memory of that able and enterprising navigator," and to a remarkable headland on Southampton Island he gave the name of Cape Bylot, as being probably the westernmost land seen by him on this voyage. On the 15th May they anchored in a small cove near Cape Comfort, from whence they sailed next day, and after a consultation as to whether the discovery should be pursued as recommended by Baffin, or whether the remainder of the voyage should be spent in the capture of the morse, it was decided to follow up the first suggestion, and accordingly they stood for Nottingham Island. Here they were beating about till the 27th, "havinge much foule wether, many stormes, often foggs, and vncertain windes." On the 30th they anchored at Digges' Island, where the prospects of any passage being very bad, they gave up all hope of success and steered for Resolution Island, at the mouth of Hudson's Strait, which they made on the 3rd August. The next day they set sail, and the 6th September had sight of Cape Clear, and on the 8th they came to an anchor in Plymouth Sound, "without the loss of one man; for these and all other blessings the Lord make vs thankfull."

Whatever might have been thought by the adven-

turers of the ill-success of the voyage, it would seem that they did not look upon the conduct of Baffin in the same light as a modern author of great celebrity on this point.[4] It must, indeed, be "with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction" that Mr. Rundall has at length been able to set the world right as to the worth of one whose name is now known in connexion with the most magnificent bay in the world.

The Adventurers again set forth the same ship and officers next year, and amongst other instructions they issued the following for their guidance: "For your course, you must make all possible haste to the *Cape* Desolation, and from thence, you, *William* Baffin, as pilot, keepe along the coast of *Groenland* and vp *Fretum Dauis,* untill you come toward the height of Eightie Degrees, if the Land will giue you leave. Then, for feare of inbaying by keeping too Northerly a Course, shape your Course West and Southerly, so farre as you shall think it conuenient, till you come to the Latitude of Sixtie Degrees. Then direct your course to fall with the Land of *Yedzo* about that height, leauing your farther sayling Southward to your own discretion; according as the time of the Yeere and Windes will giue you leave. Although our desires be, if your Voyage proue so prosperous, that you may haue the Yeere before you, that you goe so farre Southerly as that you may touch the North part of *Japan,* from whence, or from *Yedzo,* if you can so compasse it without danger, we would haue you to bring home one of the men of the country; and so, God blessing you with all expedition, to make you returne home againe."

With these clear directions on board, the Discovery sailed from Gravesend on the 26th March 1616, but was twice forced to put into an English port before a fair start was made. On the 14th May the Greenland

[4] Sir John Barrow, Bart., "Chron: Hist: Arctic Voy: 1818."

coast was sighted, in 65° 20′ N., and in lat. 70° 20′, they first anchored in a sound on the "London coast" of Davis. Their next point was Hope Saunderson, the extreme reached by Davis, and to the cluster of islands among which they were here forced to take shelter, they gave the name of *Woman's Islands*, from the circumstance of their having fallen in with some native women concealed behind the rocks, one of whom is said to have appeared fourscore years of age. Having induced the poor fugitives to return to the miserable dwellings from which they had fled through fear, and having established a confidence, which does great credit to his humanity, Baffin took his departure from these islands, and pushing his way north, on the 19th June reached another group, lying a few miles off the main, in lat. 74° 4′, where he was forced to anchor on account of the ice, which gave him a great deal of trouble. He then tried to make his way to the westward, but fruitlessly, and was driven to return north, to some islands in lat. 73° 45′, to wait until the ice, which much to their surprise melted very fast, should no longer oppose their progress. On the 18th, there appearing a favourable change, they again stood to the northward, and on the 1st July an open sea, in lat 75° 40′, "anew revived the hope of a passage." Next day they passed, in lat. 76° 35′, a cape or headland, to which the name of Sir Dudley Digges, one of the adventurers, was given;[3] and a few leagues farther, a fair sound, with an island standing at its mouth, was called after another of the same worthies, Wolstenholme Sound. In lat. 77° 30′, another sound, which they

[3] "Cape Dudley Digges was found to be a few miles to the southward of the situation in which Baffin has laid it down. It appeared to form a precipice of about eight hundred feet in height, was perfectly clear of snow, and presented a yellowish vegetation at top, behind which, at the distance of eighteen miles, there appeared to be high mountains covered with snow."—(Ross (Capt. John) Voyage: Isabella and Alexander, in 1818. London, 1819, p. 141.)

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named after the great number of whales observed, was seen, and between these two last, a group of islands received the name of Cary Islands. From Whale Sound they proceeded in a north-westerly direction, following the trending of the coast, until they made an island, to which the name of Richard Hakluyt, the first and greatest English compiler of a collection of voyages, was given.

The next great inlet received the name of Sir Thomas Smith, and Baffin remarks, it "is admirable in one respect, because in it is the greatest-variation in the compasse of any part of the world known; for by divers good observations, I found it to be above five points, or fifty-six degrees, varied to the westward, so that a north-east and by east is true north, and so of the rest."

With a favourable wind they now stood to the south-west, until the 10th, when it became foggy, and they found themselves again at the entrance of a fair sound, to which the name of Alderman Jones was given.

Running along the shore, "which now trended much south, and began to show like a bay," on the 12th, in lat. 74° 20′, they passed another great inlet, which was called Sir James Lancaster's Sound, and the mouth of which was sealed up for two hundred years afterwards, until the icy barrier was removed to admit the energetic Parry. Their hope of a passage now became day by day less. "From this sound," Baffin remarks, "to the southward wee had a ledge of yce between the shoare and us, but cleare to the seaward; we kept close by this ledge of ice till the 14th day in the afternoon, by which time we were in the latitude of 71° 16′, and plainely perceived the land to the southward of 70° 30′; then wee, having so much ice round about, were forced to stand more eastward." On this tack they ran about sixty leagues, when they again made the land, in about the latitude of 68°, but

not being able to gain the shore drifted down to 65° 40′, when they got into the "indraft of Cumberland's Isles, and should know no certaintie and hope of passage could be none;" a consultation was held, and Baffin adds, "seeing that wee had made an end of our discovery, and the year being too farre spent to goe for the bottome of the bay to search for drest finnes,[4] therefore wee determined to goe for the coast of Groneland to see if we could get some refreshing for our men."

This determination was carried out, and on the 28th July they anchored in the Cockin Sound of Hall, in lat. 65° 45′, where they found abundance of scurvy grass, by the plentiful use of which, "with the blessing of God," they were soon restored to perfect health. Departing on the 6th August from Cockin's Sound, which they represent to be a very excellent harbour, they steered for home, and arrived safely in Dover Roads on the 30th of the same month.

All that is known of the issue of this most important voyage is, that on his return Baffin addressed the following excellent letter to one of the gentlemen who had fitted him out.

Of Baffin himself very little else, we regret to say, has survived the ravages of time. Purchas says (p. 848), "Master *Baffin* told me, that he would, if he might get employment, search the passage from *Japan*, by the coast of *Asia*; but in the Indies he dyed, in the late *Ormus* businesse, slain in fight with a shot, as he was trying his mathematicall projects and conclusions."

But though nothing is known of his after-life, future years have verified all that this admirable old navigator ever asserted, and his name will cling to the waters of the mighty bay he discovered, as long as honest worth shall be recognized in the world.

[4] Whalebone.

" *To the Right Worshipfull Master John Wolstenholme, Esquire, one of the Chiefe Aduenturers for the Discouerie of a Passage to the North-west.*

" WORTHY SIR. There need no filling a journall, or short discourse, with preamble, compliment, or circumstance; and therefore I will onely tell you, I am proud of any remembrance, when I expose your worth to my conceit; and glad of any good fortune, when I can auoid the imputation of ingratitude, by acknowledging your many fauors; and seeing it is not vnknowne to your worship, in what estate the businesse concerning the north-west hath beene heretofore, and how the onely hope was in searching of *Fretum Dauis*, which if your selfe had not beene the more forward, the action had well nigh beene left off; Now it remayneth for your worship to know, what hath been performed this yeere. Wherefore I entreat you to admit of my custome; and pardon me, if I take the plaine highway in relating the particulars, without vsing any refined phrases, and eloquent speeches.

" Therefore briefly, and as it were in the fore front, I intend to show you the whole proceeding of the voyage in a word; as namely, there is no passage, nor hope of passage, in the north of *Dauis Streights*, we hauing coasted all, or neere all the circumference thereof, and find it to be no other than a great bay, as the map here placed doth truly shew. Wherefore I cannot but much admire the work of the Almightie, when I consider how vaine the best and chiefest hopes of man are in things vncertaine. And to speake of no other matter, than of the hopefull passage to the north west; how many of the best sort of men, haue set their whole indeuours to proue a passage that wayes, and not onely in conference, but also in writing, and publishing to the world; yea what great summes of money hath beene spent about that action, as your

worship hath costly experience, off. Neither would the vaine glorious Spaniard have scattered abroad so many false maps, and journals, if they had not beene confident of a passage this way; that if it had pleased God, a passage had been found, they might have eclipsed the worthy praise of the adventurers, and true discouerers; and, for my owne part, I would hardly haue belieued the contrarie, vntill mine eyes became witnesse of that I desired not to haue found, still taking occasion of hope on euery little likelihood, till such time *as we had almost coasted the circumference of this great bay.* Neither was Master *Dauis* to be blamed in his report, and great hopes, if he had anchored about *Hope Sanderson,* to haue taken notice of the tydes; for to that place, which is in 72 degrees 12 minutes, the sea is open, of an vnsearchable depth, and of a good colour; onely the tydes keepe no certaine course, nor rise but a small height, as eight or nine foote; and the flood commeth from the southward; and in all the bay beyond that place, the tyde is so small, and not much to be regarded; yet by reason of snow melting on the land, the ebbe is stronger than the flood, by meanes whereof, and the windes holding northerly, the fore-part of the yeere, the great iles of ice are set to the southward; some in *Fretum Hudson,* and others towards *Neu found Land:* for in all the channell, where the sea is open, are great quantities of them driuing up and downe; and till this yeere not well knowne where they were bred.

" Now that the worst is knowne concerning the passage, it is necessarie and requisite, your worship should vnderstand what probabilitie, or hope of profit, might here be made hereafter, if the voyage be attempted by fitting men. And first, for killing of whales. Certaine it is, that in this bay are great numbers of them, which the *Biscainers* call the *Grand Baye Whales,* of the same kind which are killed at

Greenland, and, as it seemeth to me, easie to be strooke; because they are not vsed to bee chased or beaten; for we being but one day in Whale Sound, so called from the number of whales that we saw there sleeping and lying aloft on the water, not fearing our ship, or ought else; that if we had beene fitted with men and things necessarie, it had beene no hard matter to haue stroke more than would haue made three shippes a sauing voyage, and that is of that sort of whale there is no feare. I being twise at *Greenland*, tooke sufficient notice to know them againe; beside a dead whale we found at sea, hauing all her finnes, or rather all the rough of her mouth, of which, with much labour, we got one hundred and sixtie the same euening we found her; and if that foule weather, and a storme the next day, had not followed, we had no doubt but to haue had all, or the most part of them. But the winde and sea arising, she broke from vs, and we were forced to leaue her. Neither are they onely to be looked for in *Whale Sound*, but also in *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, *Wostenholme Sound*, and diuers other places.

"For the killing *sea morse* I can giue no certaintie, but onely this; that our boat being but once a shoare, in all the north part of this bay, which was in the entrance of *Alderman Jones Sound;* at the returne, our men told vs, they saw many *morses* along by the shoare on the ice; but our shippe being vnder saile, and the winde comming faire, they presently came aboard without further search. Besides, the people inhabiting about 74 degrees, told vs, by diuers signs, that towards the north, were many of those beasts, hauing two long teeth, and shewed vs diuers pieces of the same.

"As for the *sea vnicorne*, it being a great fish, hauing a long horne or bone growing forth of his forehead or nostrill; such *as Sir Martin Frobisher* in his second voyage found one; in diuers places we saw of them,

which, if the horne be of any goode value, no doubt but many of them may be killed.

"And concerning what the shoare will yield, as *beach finnes, morse teeth*, and such like, I can little say; because we came not on shoare in any of the places where hope was of finding them.

'"But here some may object, and aske, 'why we sought that coast no better?' To this I answere, that while we were thereabout, the weather was so exceeding foule wee could not; for first we anchored in *Wostenholme Sound*, where presently our shippe drove with two anchors a head; then were we forced to stand forth with a low saile. The next day in *Whale Sound* we lost an anchor and cable, and could fetch the place no more; then we came to an anchor neere a small island lying between *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound* and *Whale Sound;* but the winde came more outward, that we were forced to weigh again. Neuerthelesse if we had beene in a good harbour, hauing but our shippe's boat, we durst not send her farre from the shippe, hauing so few men as seuenteene in all, and some of them very weake: But the chiefe cause we spent so little time to seeke a harbour, was our great desire to performe the discouerie, hauing the sea open in all that part, and still likelihood of a passage; but when we had coasted the land so farre to the southward, that hope of passage was none, then the yeere was too farre spent, and many of our men very weake; and withall we hauing some beliefe, that shippes the next yeere would be sent for the killing of whales, which might better doe it than we.

"And seeing I haue briefly set downe what hope there is of making a profitable voyage, it is not vnfit your worship should know what let or hinderence might be to the same. The chiefest and greatest cause is, that some yeere it may happen, by reason of the ice, lying between 72 degrees and a halfe, and

76 degrees, no minutes, that the shippes cannot come into those places till toward the middest of July, so that want of time to stay in the countrey may bee some let. Yet they may well tarry till the last of August, in which space much businesse may be done, and goode store of oile made; neuerthelesse, if store of whales come in, as no feare to the contrarie, what cannot bee made in oile may be brought home in blubber, and the finnes will arise to good profit. Another hinderance may be, because the bottome of the sounds will not be so soone cleere as would be wished, by means thereof now and then a whale may be lost—the same case sometime chanceth in Greenland; yet I am perswaded those sounds before named, will all be cleered before the twentieth of July, for we, this yeere, were in *Whale Sound* the fourth day among many whales, and might have strooke them without let of ice. Furthermore, there is little wood to be expected, either for fire or other necessaries, therefore coles and such other things must be prouided at home, they will be so much the readier there.

"Thus much I thought good to certifie to your worship. Wherein I trust you will conceiue that much time hath not been spent in vaine, or the businesse ouer carelessly neglected; and although we haue not performed what we desire, that is to haue found the passage, yet what we promised, as to bring certaintie and a true description, truth will make manifest that I haue not much erred.

"And I dare boldly say, without boasting, that more good discouerie hath not in shorter time, to my remembrance, beene done since the action was attempted, considering how much ice we haue passed, and the difficulty of sayling so neare the pole vpon a trauerser; and, aboue all, the variation of the compasse: whose wonderfull operation is such in this bay,

increasing and decreasing so suddenly and swift, being in some part, as in *Wostenholmæ Sound* and in *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, varied about fiue points, or 56 degrees, a thing almost incredible and matchlesse in all the world beside: so that without great care and good observations, a true description could not have been had.—In fine, whatsoeuer my labours are or shall be, I esteeme them too little to express my thankeful mind for your many fauors, wherein I shall be euer studious to supply my other wants by my best endeauours, and ever rest at

"Your Worship's Command,

"WILLIAM BAFFIN."[5]

[5] "Purchas," vol. iii. pp. 843-4.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arctic Voyage, undertaken by Captain Hawkridge, attended by no new results—The Danes roused to emulation by English example—Christian IV. fits out Two Ships, giving the command to Munk—Arrangement of Winter Quarters—Gloomy Anticipations caused by the appearance of Celestial Phenomena—Dreadful Mortality of the Crew—Return of the Survivors—Zeal of Fox, a Yorkshireman, stimulates to a New Enterprise, under his own command—Charles I. grants a Vessel—Proceedings of the Voyage—Meeting in Hudson's Bay with another Exploring Ship, the Maria, commanded by Captain James—Safe return to England.

THE next Arctic voyager was Captain Hawkridge, who it will be remembered was a fellow volunteer with the unfortunate Captain Gibbons, in the voyage of Sir Thomas Button. Nothing was known of this attempt but the commander's name, not even the year or the ship's name, until Mr. Rundall, in searching the Court Minute Books of the East India Fellowship, came upon the following announcement by Sir John Wolstenholme of "an intended tryall to be made once againe in discou'nge the Norwest passage," under date of the 20th January, 1618-19.

"As an inducement to the court to contribute their assistance to this new attempt, he states it is understood, 'that in Botton's Bay, w^{ch} runneth in 450 leagues from the mouth, a great tyde of floode runnes, and riseth sometimes 17 or 18 feet in height, w^{ch} is supposed cannott be but by some current in the sea in some other place, w^{ch} in pbabillitie may proue the

desired passage.' Sir John Wolstenholme further states, so satisfied is he of the feasibility of the project, that he intends 'to make a good round aduenture in his own pticuler, and to pswade as many friendes as he may, whereby to raise meanes to furnishe forthe two pinnaces, w^ch^ will cost *li.* 2,000.' This appeal to the generosity of the worshipful body was no less successful than former applications of the same description had been, 'secing,' the record states, 'that the matter is small for this Companie, and that these workes bringe forth some good (as the whale-fishinge was found by the like occasion), yf the yssue proue good, they are like to be ptakers of that good; but yf itt should succede otherwise, yet the deed is charitable; *They*, therefore, by erecon of hands, did graunte an aduenture of *li.* 200 towards the same.'"[1]

As we know that the expedition which succeeded that of Baffin, in 1616, was the one commanded by Luke Fox, in 1631, it may safely be assumed that the above remarks apply to the voyage of Hawkridge. He appears, however, to have done very little more than his friend Gibbons; "the only difference between the two navigators is, that the one was blocked up in 'a hole' and did nothing; while the other roved about to no good purpose." Fox is the only one who seems indeed to have heard anything of the voyage, and all we can learn from the meagre accounts which he derived from "manuscript or relation" is, that Hawkridge appears to have penetrated through Hudson's Straits, but as nothing further is known, we are fain to leave the exploits of Captain Hawkridge in their original obscurity, impressed with the idea, that had they been worth knowing anything about, they would have been recorded.

In the year 1619 the Danes appear to have awakened from a long slumber, during which so many brilliant

[1] "North-West Voyages," pp. 150—1.

discoveries had been made by the English navigators, and to have again turned their attention to the northern seas, in which they had a sort of natural interest. In that year Christian IV. caused two ships to be fully equipped, the command of which was entrusted to Jens Munk, who had the reputation of being an experienced seaman. Munk sailed from Elsinor on the 18th May, and made the coast of Greenland on the 20th June. He stood up Davis's Straits, until he became so hampered with ice that he was forced to go to the southward and pass into Hudson's Straits. Here he took the liberty, (and indeed throughout the whole voyage) of altering the names given by former navigators;—thus Hudson's Straits became Christian's Straits; the northern part of Hudson's Bay Mare Novum, the New Sea; and the southern, Christian's Sea, &c.; the innovation, however, has received, at the hands of geographers, the contempt it so richly merited.

Munk took up his winter quarters in what is now termed Chesterfield Inlet; having erected good huts, and finding a plentiful stock of game, everything promised a comfortable stay until they should again be able to set out in search of unknown lands, but the issue was perhaps the most terrible of any that we have had to record. They first began to lose their spirits at beholding those extraordinary and magnificent aerial phenomena which are peculiar to an Arctic sky. On the 27th November, to all appearance, they beheld three distinct suns, and again another two on the 24th January. In December they also beheld an eclipse of the moon, which appeared as if environed by a transparent circle, within which was a cross, seemingly dividing the moon into four quarters. All these beautiful appearances instead of amusing them had a directly contrary effect, and were regarded as the harbinger of those misfortunes

which shortly followed. The frost set in with great intensity, and their wine, brandy, and beer, froze so hard as to burst the casks in which they were contained. The scurvy next appeared among them, superinduced, it would seem, from too liberal a use of spirituous liquors, and to cure it they indulged still more freely, perhaps the worst means which could have been employed. This state of things continued, until they all became so weak as to be unable to kill any of the multitudes of ducks, geese, and partridges, which abounded; and this, as famine now begun to stare them in the face, considerably aggravated the horrors of their position. Munk himself, after remaining in his hut four days without food, at length had resolution to crawl out, and found that out of a crew of sixty-four souls two alone survived. With the energy of despair these three unfortunate sufferers dug into the rock-like snow, and found some plants and roots, which they greedily devoured, and which, providentially, being possessed of anti-scorbutic properties, soon enabled them to exert themselves more freely. By degrees they regained their natural vigour, and were enabled to fish and shoot, but their thoughts were ever directed to the means of escape, and at length, having equipped the smaller vessel from the stores of the large one, they set sail, re-passed Hudson's Straits, and, after a stormy and perilous voyage, reached home safely on the 25th September, 1620.

The revival of the subject of a north-west passage in England was owing to the exertions of Captain Luke Fox, or as he prefers to call himself, "North-west Fox," a shrewd talented Yorkshireman, whose book, which we have before had occasion to notice, is remarkable for its quaint comical style. According to his own account, Fox had for years continued to urge an expedition to the northern seas, which, he says, he "had been itching after ever since 1606, and

would have gone mate with *John Knight*;" he was at length so successful as to get the "honourable knight, Sir John Brooke," and other gentlemen, to take the matter up, and application being made to Charles I. for the loan of a vessel and his countenance to the undertaking, his majesty "graciously accepted and granted both," immediately placed a ship of the royal navy at their disposal, but the season being too far advanced, their departure was delayed until next year.

This delay proved dangerous; in the interval, Mr. Henry Briggs, one of the supporters of the enterprise, died; others withdrew from the undertaking, and the whole affair would have been abandoned but for the opportune co-operation of Sir Thomas Roe and Sir John Wolstenholme "the never failing friend of this voyage," who were appointed by the king to expedite it. Under their direction, a pinnace called the Charles, of seventy tons, and a complement of twenty men and two boys, was equipped and provisioned for eighteen months. Of his outfit, Fox speaks in the following terms, first, however, addressing his reader thus: "Gentle reader,—expect not heere any florishing phrases or eloquent tearmes, for this child of mine, begot in the north-west's cold clime (where they breed no schollers), is not able to digest the sweet milke of Rethorick, &c.

"The ship of his Majesties was (of my own chusing, and the best for condition and quality, especially for this voyage, that the world could afford,) of burthen eighty tonnes, the number of men twenty, and two boyes, and by all our cares was sheathed, cordaged, builded, and repaired, all things being made exactly ready against an appointed time. My greatest care was to have my men of godly conversation, and such as their years, of time not exceeding thirty-five, had gained good experience, that I might thereby be the

better assisted, especially by such as had been upon those frost-biting voyages, by which they were hardened for indurance, and could not so soone be dismayed at the sight of the ice. For beardless younkers, I knew as many as could man the boate was enough; and for all our dependances was upon God alone, for I had neither private ambition or vaine glory.

"And all these things I had contractedly done by the master, wardens, and assistants of the Trinity House. For a lieutenant I had no use; but it grieved me much that I could not get one man that had been on the same voyage before, by whose counsaile or discourse I might better have shunned the ice. I was victualled compleatly for eighteene months, but whether the baker, brewer, butcher, and other, were master of their arts, or professors or no, I know not, but this I am sure of, I had excellent fat beefe, strong beere, good wheaten bread, good Iceland ling, butter and cheese of the best, admirable sacke and aqua-vitæ, pease, oatmeale, wheat-meale, oyle, spice, sugar, fruit, and rice; with chyrugerie, as sirrups, julips, condits, trachisses, antidotes, balsoms, gummes, unguents, implaisters, oyles, potions, suppositors, and purging pills; and if I wanted instruments, my chyrugion had enough. My carpenter was fitted from the thickest bolt to the pumpe nayle or tacket. The gunner from the sacor to the pistol. The boatswaine from the cable to the sayle twine. The steward and cooke from the caldron to the spoone.

"And for books, if I wanted any I was to blame, being bountifully furnisht from the treasurer with money to provide me, especially for those of study there would be no leisure, nor was there, for I found work enough."

Next follow rules for proper discipline on board, which were no less necessary than was the abundant provision above noticed.

"May 7, anno 1631.—The voyage of Captaine Luke Foxe, in his majesties pinnace the *Charles*, burthen seventy tonnes, twenty men, and two boyes, victuals for eighteen months, young Sir John Wolstenholme being treasurer.

"Orders and articles for civill government, to be duly observed amongst us in this voyage.

"Forasmuch as the good successe and prosperity of every action doth consist in the due service and glorifying of God, knowing that not only our being and preservation but the prosperity of all our actions and enterprizes doe immediately depend upon His Almighty goodness and mercy, of which this being none of the least, eyther of nature or quality. For the better governing and managing of this present voyage, in his majesties ship the *Charles*, bound for the North-west Passage, towards the South Sea, May 7, 1631, as followeth:—

"1. That all the whole company, as well officers as others, shall duly repaire every day twice, at the call of the bell, to hear publike prayers to be read (such as are authorized by the Church), and that in a godly and devout manner, as good Christians ought.

"2. That no man shall swear by the name of God, nor use any prophane oath, or blaspheme His holy name, upon pain of severe punishment.

"3. That no man shall speak any vile or unbeseeming word, against the honour of his Majestie, our dread soveraigne, his lawes or ordinances, or the religion established and authorized by him here in England, but as good subjects shall duly pray for him.

"4. That no man shall speake any doubtfull or despairing words against the good successe of the voyage, or make any doubt thereof, eyther in publique or private, at his messe, or to his watch-mate, or shall make any question of the skill and knowledge eyther of superiour or inferior officer, or of the undertaking,

nor shall offer to combine against the authority thereof, upon the paine of severe punishment, as well to him that shall first heare and conceale the same as to the first beginner.

"5. That no man do offer to filch or steale any of the goods of the ship or company, or doe offer to breake into hould, there to take his pleasure of such provisions as are layd in generall for the whole company of the ship; nor that any officer appointed for the charge and oversight thereof doe other wayes than shall be appointed him, but shall every man be carefull for the necessary preservation of the victuall and fuell conteyned in the hould; and that also every officer be so carefull of his store, as he must not be found (upon examination) to deserve punishment.

"6. That no man doe grumble at his allowance of victuall, or steale any from others, nor shall give cross language, eyther to superior or equal, in reviling words or daring speeches, which do tend to the inflaming of blood or inraging of choller; remembering this also, that a stroke or a blow is the breach of his majesties peace, and may not want his punishment therefore, as for other reasons.

"7. That at the boatswaine's call, all the whole company shall appeare above decke, or else that his mate fetch up presently all such sloathfull persons, eyther with rope or cudgell, as in such cases deserves the same. The quarter-masters shall look into the steeridge, while the captains, masters, and mates are at dinner or at supper.

"8. That all men duely observe the watch, as well at anchor as under sayle, and at the discharge thereof, the boatswaine, or his mate, shall call up the other, all praising God together with psalme and prayer. And so committing ourselves, both soules and bodies, ship and goods, to God's mercifull preservation, wee beseech him to steere, direct, and guide us, from the

beginning to the end of the voyage, which hee make prosperous unto us. Amen."

Fox sailed from Deptford on the 3rd May, 1631, and passed Cape Farewell on the 13th June, though he was not able to see the land on account of the drizzling mist and fog, in which he was at the time enveloped. On the 20th land was made, on the north side of Lumley's Inlet, which rather unaccountably appears to have put him in mind of Gibbons and his hole, and likewise gives occasion for his indulgence in a piece of gossip, for which he is so notorious, and in which his journal so much abounds, as to the origin of the name of the inlet, which he says is "named after the Right Honourable the *Lord Lumley*, an especial furtherer to Davis in his voyages, as to many other lordly designes, as that never to be forgotten act of his, in building up the peere of that poor fisher-towne and corporation of *Hartlepoole*, in the bishopricke of Durham, at his owne proper cost and charge, to the value of at least 2000 pounds. At my first coming thither, I demanded at whose charge the said peere-towne was builded, an old man answered, *marrye, at my good Lord Lumley's, whose soule was in heaven before his bones were cold.*"

Next day he entered Hudson's Strait, and crowded on all the sail he could carry with safety, in order to avoid the fate of Gibbons, whose unfortunate mishap is ever before him. Being asked why it was that he made such haste, he answered, "that as every mountaine consisted of severall pieces, so did my voyage upon fathomes, which must be measured here with speed, though afterward I might take leisure, which added one to another might in time compasse all the mountaines of the world; and that it fared with me as the mackarell-men at *London*, who must hasten to the market before the fish stinke." After numerous delays and dangers from the ice, Fox at length made

Salisbury Island on the 10th July, when he became involved in floating ice, which gave him a great deal of trouble; no sooner had he by "haleing, saleing, toweing, and pulling," got clear of one mass and pushed for an opening, than the treacherous inlet would again inclose him, and the same work had to be done again. The 19th found him still in the vicinity of Digges', Salisbury, Nottingham, Mansell, and Southampton Islands. On the 20th Cary's Swans' Nest was made, and on the 26th, in lat. 63° 20′, it was "as hot a day as any in England, and the pettie dancers and hurbanes," by which is meant the aurora borealis, "flashing during the night." On the 27th, in lat. 64° 10′, an island was descried, which proved to be a place of sepulture for the natives. The bodies, the longest of which did not exceed four feet, were laid with their heads to the west, and were wrapped in skins, while numerous arms and implements in carved bone were lying beside them. To this island Fox gave the name of *Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome*, an appellation which has since been extended to the straits, at the entrance of which it lies; to another, farther to the westward, he gives the name of *Brooke Cobham;* and likewise to a small group near the last, "*Brigges his Mathematickes.*" Here Fox stayed his northern progress, assigning as a reason his instructions, which direct him "to set the course from *Caries Swannes' Nest*, N. W. by N., so as I might fall with the west side in 63 d., and from thence southward, to search the passage diligently, all the bay about, untill I came to *Hudson's Bay*," steering south along the American shore.

On the 2nd August he was off the "*Hopes Check'd*" of Sir Thomas Button, and on the 8th made Port Nelson, where he found part of a broken cross, which had been set up by Button, bearing an inscription, stating what his reasons had been for wintering here, &c. It was re-erected with a further inscription.

Fox determined to continue his voyage to the southward, in preference to taking up his winter quarters, as he had not observed as yet a single indication of the desired passage. On the 29th they fell in with the Maria, a vessel which had been despatched by the Bristol merchants, under the command of Captain Thomas James, on the very same day as Fox, and with a similar object in view. These two rivals met, and feasted each other on board their respective ships; but Fox does not appear to have been greatly prepossessed in the other's favour; he speaks of him as "a gentleman who could discourse of arte, as observations, calculations, and the like, and he shewed me many instruments, so that I did perceive him to bee a practitioner in the mathematicks; but I found that hee was no sea-man." The qualities of his vessel also drew forth some sharp remarks; while at dinner, which was served between decks, there not being sufficient room in the great cabin, she took in so much water, that Fox remarks, that "sause would not have been wanted if there had been roast mutton," and he revolved in his mind, "whether it were better for James his company to be impounded amongst ice, where they might be kept from putrefaction by piercing ayre, or in open sea, to be kept sweet by being thus daily pickled." The two navigators took leave of each other, after having been in company about seventeen hours, and Fox still standing to the south; on the 3rd September, in lat. 55° 14′, made a shore, to which he gave the name of *Wolstenholme's Ultimum Vale*, "for that I do believe Sir John Wolstenholme will not lay out any more money in search of this bay." [2] From this point a northerly course was taken, and on the 7th Cary's Swans' Nest was again seen; Fox continued to coast Southampton Island,

[2] Sir John Wolstenholme's loss on this voyage Fox estimates at 400*l.*, and his total losses on account of his north-western enterprises at about 1100*l.*

the weather "nothing but snowe, frost, and sleet at best, our selves, ropes, and sayles, froaze, the sun seldome to be seene, or once in five dayes, the nights thirteen houres long, the moone wayning." From Seahorse Point he stood across to the main, and passing Mill Island, tracked the coast to the northward, naming successively two capes after King Charles and Queen Maria, and another Lord Weston's Portland, until, on the 22nd September, he reached a point, in lat. 66° 47', where he beheld the land trend to the S. E., which he named "FOXE HIS FARTHEST." He now began to retrace his steps, seeing that there was no prospect of a passage in this direction, and it was thought too late in the season to attempt to reach Port Nelson to stay out the winter:—the fear, moreover, that the provisions would not hold out, even if they adopted this measure, induced Fox to direct his course homeward. On the 31st September, "blessed be Almighty God, I came into the *Downes*, with all my men recovered and sound, not having lost one man nor boy, nor any manner of tackling, having beene forth near six moneths. All glory be to God!"

CHAPTER IX.

Particulars of the Voyage of the Maria under Captain James—Wintering at Charlton Island—Formation of Winter Quarters, with various other particulars—Return of Summer—Preparations for re-embarking—Conflagration on the Island—Escape of the Crew to the Vessel—Continuation of Voyage—Further Hardships—Return Home—King of Denmark despatches a Vessel, commanded by Captain Danell—Return without results—Second Expedition equally unprofitable—Proposal of M. de Grosseliez to the French Government, to form Settlements on the Shores of Hudson's Bay—His Project rejected by France, but embraced by England—Carried into execution, under the Patronage of Prince Rupert—Grant of Territorial Rights to Hudson's Bay Company.

We have already noticed the meeting of Captain Luke Fox and Captain Thomas James in the bottom of Hudson's Bay, and we now proceed to examine the voyage of the latter.

The vessel, which was built expressly for the purpose by the Bristol adventurers, was of seventy tons burthen, and was victualled for eighteen months, with a complement of twenty-two hands. James tells us in the narrative, which he published at the king's desire,[1] that he would neither allow any of his men to

[1] "The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain *Thomas James*, in his intended Discovery of the N. W. Passage into the South Sea, wherein the Miseries indured both Going, Wintering, and Returning, are related at large; published by the special Command of King Charles I.," &c., quarto, 1633. Reprinted with the greatest integrity, in Churchill's Coll. of Voy., v. ii. p. 429.

be married, nor would he take any that had before "us'd the northerly icy seas," though there were numerous applicants; thus keeping all the power in his own hands, and making all immediately in dependance upon him, which proved in the end rather questionable policy. On the 3rd May, the Maria left the Severn on her voyage of discovery, and on the 4th June, off Cape Farewell, was in great danger from the ice, in warding off which they laboured day and night, and broke all their poles. Early in the morning of the 17th, Resolution Island was seen high above the fog, which covered the face of the ocean, and they succeeded in rounding its southern point on the 20th. From this date, James's journal is full of the most dismal entries. Though a man possessed of a kind and feeling heart, and many other amiable qualities, it does not appear that he was fitted for the command of an expedition like the present, where the ordinary duties and experiences of a sailor stood for naught, and the navigation was among stupendous masses of ice, dangers totally unlike any that he has commonly to encounter, and from which there is no escape, if not opportunely met, or providentially turned aside.

It is hardly necessary to recount the numerous perils through which they passed, before they reached Salisbury Island. On the 29th, after passing Mansells Island, they became so firmly enclosed in the ice that, "notwithstanding we put aboard all the sail that was at the yards, and it blew a very hard gale of wind, the ship stirr'd no more than if she had been in a dry dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the ice, to sport and recreate ourselves, letting her stand still under all her sails." On the 11th of August they sighted Hubbert's Hope, and on the 16th, Port Nelson. Shortly after this a serious accident occurred while heaving up the anchor, by which several of the crew were hurt, and the gunner "had his leg taken betwixt the

cable and the capstang, which wrung off his foot and tore all the flesh off his leg." On the 29th of August Fox's ship was seen at anchor, and after saluting him "according to the manner of the sea," the two commanders met, as we have before-narrated; but we do not find in James's journal any disparaging remarks on his brother sailor. On the 3rd of September, a cape, in latitude 55° 5′, was named after her Majesty Henrietta Maria, the queen consort; and on the 12th they were again so unfortunate as to strike on a rock. James, who was awakened out of a deep sleep by the blow, thought at first that he had better provide himself for another world; but becoming more calm, and controlling the revengeful feeling that took possession of him, to do some harm to those who, "blind with self-conceit, and enviously opposite in opinion," had committed the error, he took all the means in his power to remedy the evil; the water was started, and the beer only just escaped a similar fate; the coal was thrown overboard, and a variety of articles were put into the long-boat, as it was feared that the vessel had now received "her death-wound." However, after five hours beating furiously, during which time she received a hundred blows, each of which threatened to be her last, she happily beat over all the rocks, and the crew went to prayers, to return thanks to God for their deliverance. James now determined to steer for the bottom of the bay, in order to find, if possible, a passage into the river of Canada; or, if he failed, to winter on the main. In carrying out his design, he fell in with some islands; and named them after Lord Weston, the Earl of Bristol, Sir Thomas Roe, and Earl Danby; on the latter, now commonly known as Charlestown by contraction, Charlton Island, he determined to pass the winter. A hovel was built on shore, and the sick men carried to it, while the ship, which had driven on the

beach, soon became a perfect mass of ice. To add to their distress, they had to pass knee-deep through half-congealed water if they wanted to hold communication with their comrades; it was therefore determined to abandon the ship altogether, and take up their quarters on shore. The 1st December was so cold that James walked over the ice to the ship, where the boat had gone the day previously. The 13th they began to dig the boat out of the ice, in doing which, many had their noses, cheeks, and fingers, frozen as white as paper. The 23rd all their sack, vinegar, oil, and everything else that was liquid, was frozen as hard as a piece of wood, and required to be cut with a hatchet. "Christmas-day was solemnized in the joyfullest manner we could, and now, instead of a christmas tale, I will describe the house that we did live in, with those adjoyning. When I first resolved to build a house, I chose the warmest and convenientest place, and the nearest the ship withal. It was among a tuft of thick trees, under a south bank, about a slight shot from the sea-side. True it is, that at that time we could not dig into the ground to make us a hole or cave in the earth, which had been the best way, because we found water digging within two foot, and therefore that project fail'd. It was a white light sand, so that we could by no means make up a mud wall. As for stones, there were none near us; moreover, we were all now cover'd with the snow. We had no boards for such a purpose, and, therefore, we must do the best we could with such materials as we had about us.

"The house was square, about twenty foot every way; as much, namely, as our main course could well cover. First, we drove strong stakes into the earth round about: which we wattld with boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very close. This our first work, was six foot high on both sides, but at

the ends, almost up to the very top. There we left two holes for the light to come in at; and the same way the smoke did vent out also. Moreover, I caus'd, at both ends, three rows of thick bush trees to be stuck up, as close together as possible. Then, at a distance from the house, we cut down trees, proportioning them into lengths of six foot, with which we made a pile on both sides, six foot thick and six foot high; but at both ends, ten foot high and six foot thick. We left a little low door to creep into, and a portal before that, made with piles of wood, that the wind might not blow into it. We next fasten'd a rough tree aloft over all, upon which we laid our rafters, and our main course over them again, which, lying thwartways over all, reach'd down to the very ground on either side; and this was the fabrick of the outside of it. On the inside, we made fast our bonnet sails round about, then we drove in stakes, and made us bedstead frames, about three sides of the house, which bedsteads were double, one under another, the lowermost being a foot from the ground. These we first filled with boughs, then we laid on spare sails on that, and then our bedding and cloaths. We made a hearth in the middle of the house, and on it made our fire. Some boards we laid round about the hearth to stand upon, that the cold damp should not strike up into us. With our waste cloaths we made us canopies and curtains, others did the like with our small sails. Our second house was not past twenty foot distant from this, and made for the wattling much after the same manner; but it was less, and cover'd with our fore-course. It had no piles on the south side, but in lieu of that, we piled up all our chests on the inside; and, indeed, the reflex of the heat of the fire against them did make it warmer than the Mansion House. In this house we dress'd our victuals, and the subordinate crew did refresh themselves all

day in it. A third house, which was our storehouse, about twenty-nine paces off from this, for fear of firing. This house was only a rough tree, fastened aloft with rafters laid from it to the ground, and cover'd over with our new suit of sails. On the inside we had laid small trees, and cover'd them over with boughs, and so stored our bread and fish in it, about two foot from the ground, the better to preserve them; other things lay more carelessly.

"Long before *Christmas* our Mansion House was cover'd thick over with snow, almost to the very roof of it. And so likewise was our second house; but our storehouse all over, by reason we made no fire in it. Thus we seemed to live in a heat, and wilderness of snow; forth of our doors we could not go, but upon the snow, in which we made us paths middle deep in some places, and in one special place, the length of ten steps. To do this, we must shovel away the snow first, and then by treading, make it something hard under foot: The snow in this path was a full yard thick under us. And this was our best gallery for the sick men, and for mine own ordinary walking. And both houses and walks we daily accommodated more and more, and made fitter for our uses.

"The 27th we got our boat ashore, and fetched up some of our provisions from the beach-side into the storehouse; and so by degrees did we with the rest of our provisions, with extremity of cold and labour, making way with shovels thro' the deep snow; even from the sea-side unto our storehouse. And thus concluded we the old year, 1631."

January and February passed in their ordinary occupations, the cold not in the least decreasing. "We made three differences of the cold, all according to the places—in our house, in the woods, and in the open air upon the ice, in our going to the ship. For

the last, it would be sometimes so extreme that it was not indurable; no cloaths were proof against it, no motion could resist it; it would moreover so freeze the hair on our eyelids that we could not see; and I verily believe that it would have stifled a man in a very few hours." '*You were in a wood,*' (may some men say unto us,) *and therefore you might make fire enough to keep you from the cold.*' It is true we were in a wood, and under a south-bank too, or otherwise we had all starved. But I must tell you withal, how difficult it was to have wood in a wood . . . . . the three that were appointed to look for crooked timber, stalked and waded, sometimes on all fours, through the snow, and when they saw a tree likely to fit the mould, they must first heave away the snow, and then see if it would fit the mould; if not, they must seek further. If it did fit the mould, then they must make a fire to it, to thaw it, otherwise it could not be cut; then cut it down and fit it to the length of the mould, and then with other help get it home, a mile thorow the snow.

"Now for our firing. We could not burn green wood, it would so smoke that it was not indurable; yea, the men had rather starve without in the cold than sit by it. As for the dry wood, that also was bad enough in that kind; for it was full of turpentine, and would send forth such a thick smoke, that would make abundance of soot, which made us all look as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers. Our clothes were quite burnt in pieces about us, and for the most part we were all without shoes. But to our fuellers again. They must first (as the former) go up and down in the snow till they saw a standing dry tree; for that the snow covered any that were fallen. Then they must hack it down with their pieces of hatchets, and then others must carry it home thorow the snow. The

boys with cutlasses must cut boughs for the carpenter; for every piece of timber that he did work, must be first thawed in the fire, and he must have a fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual labour throughout the forementioned cold, besides our tending of the sick, and other necessary imployments."

But notwithstanding these were severe privations for such emaciated beings as they had become, a more dreadful enemy than any they had yet encountered presented itself, in the shape of scurvy—exhibiting the usual symptoms of weakness, swelled legs, sore mouths, black turgid gums, the flesh of which had to be cut away every day; the teeth loose in the jaw, &c., rendering two-thirds of the company powerless.

March passed in nearly the same manner; but towards the middle of April they began to overhaul the ship, to see what could be made of her. During May and June they were engaged in digging out the ice with which she was filled; in which they suffered great hindrance from the death of the carpenter. A most singular event happened at this time: the body of the gunner, who had never recovered from the amputation of his leg, and which had been committed to the deep some six months before, was discovered hard frozen in the ice, and when dug out, was as free from noisomeness as when first committed to the sea; only that his flesh would slip up and down upon his bones like a glove upon a man's hand.

The 16th of June was "wondrous hot, with some lightning and thunder, so that our men did go into the ponds ashore to swim and cool themselves; yet was the water very cold still. There had lately appeared divers sorts of flies, as butter-flies, butcher's-flies, horse-flies, and such an infinite abundance of blood-thirsty muscatoes, that we were now more tormented with them than ever we were with the cold weather."

On the evening of the 22nd, having again fitted the ship and made her as staunch as their means would permit, she was with infinite trouble hove off, and towed into deep water. While the crew were engaged in setting the rigging in order and conveying the stores on board, James, with a companion, went to the summit of an eminence to light a fire as a signal, and to see if it would be answered by any natives in the vicinity. His companion forgetfully set fire to some bushes to windward, which, spreading rapidly, caught the tree up which James had climbed the better to observe, and he narrowly escaped being burnt alive. The fire still continued to spread over the island, and raged furiously for two days, so that James gave orders that everything should be taken on board the vessel, and these orders were scarcely carried out, before the sentinel, who had been posted to watch the devastating flames, came running in to tell them "that the fire did follow him hard at his heels, like a train of powder." They, therefore, laid hand on everything that still remained, and hastened on board the ship, from which they beheld the fire seize upon their dwellings and raze them to the ground in a moment.

On the 1st July, the boat pulled ashore for the last time. After reading prayers and dining, the whole of the company gathered together to take the last view of their dead companions. "And now the sun was set, and the Boat came ashore for us; whereupon we assembled ourselves together, and went up to take the last view of our Dead, and to look into their Tombs, and other things." With mournful feelings, they then slowly pulled on board, and next morning, cheerfully hoisting sail, departed, "beseeching God to continue his mercies to them, and rendering him thanks for having thus restored them."

"Now to avoid telling the same thing twenty times, we were continually, till the 22nd, so pestered and tormented with ice, that it would seem incredible to relate it. Sometimes we were so blinded with Fog, that we could not see about us; and being now become wilful in our endeavours, we should so strike against the Ice, that the fore-part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to pieces. Indeed we did hourly strike such unavoidable blows, that we did leave the Hatches open; and twenty times in a day the men would run down into the Hold, to see if she were bulged." In this manner they reached Cape Henrietta Maria on the 22nd, where they went on shore, with their dogs, to endeavour to kill some deer, but they tired their dogs and wearied themselves to no purpose. The same evening they again set sail, and again we have the same catalogue of disasters until the 22nd August, when they made land to the westward of Carey's Swans' Nest; and on the 24th, Nottingham Island. On the 26th, matters becoming worse, James called a consultation of his officers, who gave him a written opinion:—"Our Advice is, That you repair homeward from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons."[2]

"Wherefore (with a sorrowful heart, God knows) I consented that the helm should be borne up, and a Course shaped for *England*. Well hoping, that his Majesty would graciously censure of my Endeavours, and pardon my Return. And although we have not discovered populous Kingdoms, and taken special notice of their Magnificence, Power and Policies; brought samples home of their Riches and Commodities; pried into the mysteries of their Trades and

[2] These reasons, which amount to seven, chiefly relate to the advanced season of the year, and the shattered state of the ship and her crew.

Traffic; nor made any great fight against the enemies of God and our Nation; yet I wish our Willingness in these Desart Parts may be acceptable to our readers. When we bore up helm, we were in Latitude 65° 30′ at least N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham Island.*"

On the 3rd September, the south end of Resolution Island was seen, and on the 22nd of October, they arrived in Bristol Roads, "having been hindered and crost with much contrary tempestuous Winds and Weather."

In the year 1652, Frederick III., King of Denmark, despatched a vessel, commanded by Captain Danell, to the eastern coast of Greenland, which he reached in latitude 64° 50′, and tracked as far north as 65° 30′ when he returned, and rounding Cape Farewell, stood along the western shore. He then again repassed Cape Farewell, and endeavoured to approach the eastern coast, but was obliged at length to give up his efforts, and return home.

Danell again sailed the following year, standing to the northward of Iceland, and reaching the latitude of 73° before he attempted to approach the coast of Greenland. He coasted along to the southward, down to Cape Farewell, but was never able to get within forty or fifty miles of the coast, owing to the ice.

Among the French settlers in Canada who crossed to the shores of Hudson's Bay, was a certain M. de Grosseliez, a brave, enterprizing man, who, seeing the advantages that would accrue to the French nation, if settlements were formed on the shores of the bay, urged the government, by every means in his power, to form such establishments; but his plans were treated with contempt, on the sole foundation of Captain Thomas James's dismal account of the climate.

The English minister at Paris, hearing of the pro-

posal, sent Grosseliez over to England with a letter to Prince Rupert, who entered warmly into the project; and Captain Zacchariah Gillam was appointed to convey the Frenchman to his proposed field of colonization, and to make further investigations. He sailed accordingly in the spring of the year 1668, in command of the Nonsuch ketch, and wintered in Rupert's River, at the bottom of Hudson's Bay, where he built a small stone fort, to which he gave the name of Fort Charles, the first English settlement in this quarter. Prince Rupert did not let the matter drop here; he obtained from King Charles a patent, incorporating him with the Duke of Albermarle, the Earl of Craven, and other noble lords, under the style and title of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay. It granted to them and their successors the sole trade and commerce to Hudson's Bay and Straits, with territorial rights and jurisdiction over all the land and countries on the coasts and confines of the same, which were not actually possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state; to be reckoned and reputed as one of the British plantations or colonies in America, under the name of Rupert's Land.

It is not for us to enter into the question of the legality or otherwise of this charter, which has continued in full force to the present day, although said to have been limited to seven years, or whether the immense power given by it has been wielded with proper justice over a territory "comprising an area nearly one-third larger than all Europe; reigning supreme over fifty native tribes of Indians, who are the slaves of its laws and policy, and scarcely removed but in name from being its actual bondsmen:"[3]—it is not for us to say whether it is to the interest of that

[3] Isbister's statement of the grievances of the native and Half-Caste Indians, p. 1.

company to keep the red man in the state of ignorance in which he is now plunged:[3]—all such questions are irrelevant to the subject of northern discovery; but it is certain that they have, till within these last few years omitted, to use those strenuous exertions for the discovery of a western passage, which, by their charter, they were bound to employ.

[3] See "The Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island," by J. E. Fitzgerald, Esq.

CHAPTER X.

Renewed Attempt to Discover a North-East Passage, undertaken by Captain Wood, with two Vessels—Loss of one, and Narrow Escape of the other—Disasters and Return—Mr. J. Knight, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's Factory on Nelson's River, sent out in search of Copper Mines in the North of Hudson's Bay—Melancholy Issue of the Enterprise—A small Vessel sent out in search of Knight—Indifference of Scroggs, the Commander, to the Object of his Mission—New Expedition under the Lords of the Admiralty, and Accusations on its Failure.

No attempt had been made at a north-east passage, out of England, for more than a century, when that project was again revived, by some notices which appeared in the transactions of the Royal Society for the year 1675, and by various learned treatises which were put forth by several ingenious reasoners; among whom Captain John Wood appears to have taken the lead. Being impressed with the conviction that such a passage did exist, and that there were many reasons why he should undertake its discovery, he drew up a statement and polar draught, showing the discoveries of former navigators in the same quarter, which were presented to Charles the Second, and his majesty, after consulting many merchants and seamen on the subject, was pleased to grant the Speedwell frigate for the enterprise, and to which was added the Prosperous, a pink, of one hundred and

twenty tons, bought, victualled, and manned, by the Duke of York and other honourable pers nages, who took a lively interest in the attempt, and commanded by Captain William Flawes. Thus equipped, Wood sailed from the Thames on Sunday, the 28th May, 1676, and doubled the North Cape about the 19th June. On the 22nd, he was in latitude 75° 59′, and on the 26th fell in with the western coast of Nova Zembla. In standing off and on to avoid the ice, on the 29th the frigate, which most probably drew far too large a draught of water for navigation in an icy sea; struck on a ledge of sunken rocks, and they had scarcely time to land some provisions before she went to pieces. The Prosperous narrowly escaped a similar fate, by wearing sharply round, and standing off the shore, when, as if to shut off their last hope of succour, she became enveloped in a thick fog, and for nine days remained invisible to the anxious eye of these unfortunate men. They were on the point of setting out on a land journey to Waigatz Strait, in the hope of there meeting with some Russian vessel, when, to their great joy, they beheld the Prosperous; and making a large fire to attract attention, happily got on board the same day; and steering direct for England, arrived safely in the Thames on the 23rd August. Wood gave it as his decided opinion, on his return, that he had been misled by following the opinion of Barentsz, the Dutch navigator, and that the islands of Nova Zembla and Greenland (by which is meant Spitzbergen) were one: "But," says the Hon. Daines Barrington, "these ill-founded reflections seem to be dictated merely by his disappointment in not being able to effect his discovery."[1]

[1] Wood's Voyage, together with Sir John Narborough's, Jasmen Tasman's, and Frederick Marten's, was published by Smith and Walford, printers to the Royal Society, in 1694, and is dedicated to Samuel Pepys, the Secretary of the Admiralty, who furnished the materials.

Wood's voyage appears to have closed the list of north-eastern attempts, which have never been renewed except by the Russians in modern times.

In the year 1719 the Hudson's Bay Company were solicited by Mr. James Knight, the governor of their factory at Nelson's River, to fit out an expedition for the purpose of discovering a rich mine of native copper, which was represented by the Esquimaux to exist in the northern part of Hudson's Bay. His request at first met with very little attention, until he threatened to cause an enquiry to take place into the legality of their charter, when, seeing he was bent on his purpose, they were compelled, in order to ensure his silence, to grant his request. A ship and a sloop, called the Albany and Discovery, were accordingly fitted out, the first commanded by Captain George Barlow and the other by Captain David Vaughan; Mr. Knight, however, having the sole direction of the expedition, of the successful issue of which he seems to have been pretty confident, as he had large chests made, bound with iron, to hold the treasures he expected to find, but the whole company met with a most untimely end, and it was nearly fifty years before their remains were found, on Marble Island, near Chesterfield Inlet, by some boats employed in the whale fishery. Hearne, in his "Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay, to the shores of the Northern Ocean," gives the account of the disaster as he received it from the lips of an old Esquimaux, who had met with them several times on returning from his fishing excursions, from which it would appear, that, in getting into the harbour, one of the vessels received so much damage as to induce them to commence building upon the long boat. In the second winter, sickness and famine had reduced their number from about fifty to twenty; the summer of 1721 came, and only five of the twenty remained; three of these shortly after died, in consequence of

eating in a raw state the blubber and seal's flesh which they obtained from the natives. The two who survived frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, earnestly looking in every direction for relief, whence they would return, and, sitting down close together, weep bitterly. At last one of the two sunk under this misery, and the life of his companion also departed whilst attempting to dig his grave.

It was at first thought that Knight had succeeded in making the long-desired passage, and would return by the South Sea, but after two years had passed away, and no tidings of them had reached home, the Hudson's Bay Company felt it their duty to send out a small vessel, named the Whalebone, commanded by Captain John Scroggs; but his head seems to have been turned by anticipations of discovering the rich copper mine, for we hear nothing in his meagre narrative of the unfortunate sufferers he was sent to relieve, though he must have sailed past the scene of their misery in his progress up Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, and, for aught we know to the contrary, not without having been observed, for the two last survivors of the company had most probably not yet met their fate.

Captain Scroggs had received from the Indians further accounts of this copper mine, which, together with the great rise of tide (thirty feet) observed, appeared to a gentleman of the name of Dobbs to be such strong arguments in favour of another north-western attempt, that he never ceased soliciting the Hudson's Bay Company, until they agreed to send out two small vessels, which they accordingly did, under the command of Captain Christopher Middleton, but the result of the voyage was never published. Whatever it may have been, however, it does not seem that it was at all satisfactory to Mr. Dobbs, who straightway accused the company of intentionally preventing the discovery, and other misdemeanors,

the detail of which it is not worth while to enter into. He also commenced a correspondence with Captain Middleton, which appears to have had the effect of confirming him in his opinion; and he at length prevailed on the Lords of the Admiralty to grant two vessels towards the renewal of the attempt. They were called the Furnace and the Discovery, and were commanded by Captain Middleton and Mr. William Moor. The ships left England in 1741, and passed the winter at the Hudson's Bay Company's factory in Churchill River, from which place they departed on the 1st of July, 1742, and standing along the coast to the northward, on the 3rd reached an island in 63° N., which they took to be the *Brook Cobham* of Fox. Proceeding up the Welcome, in latitude 65° 10′, Middleton named a cape after his "worthy friend," Cape Dobbs; and at the same time beheld a large opening, six or eight miles in width, to the N. W., for which he steered, and in which he was detained by the ice for three weeks. This inlet or river was named after Sir Charles Wager. They got clear of the ice on the 3rd of August, and pushing their way north, on the 5th entered another inlet in latitude 66° 14′, into which he sailed until the next day, when he beheld the land rise to bar his progress, forming the head of a deep bay. He now lost no time in retracing his course, being fearful lest he should get embayed in the ice; and on again reaching the entrance, he bestowed on the place the name of Repulse Bay. Here Middleton's journal is very confused: he says that he ascended a high hill, and looking towards the east, saw a frozen strait, eighteen or twenty leagues long, and six or seven broad, with very high land on both sides of it, but quite frozen over from side to side, and which he supposed to lead towards the Cape Comfort of Baffin, and the Lord Weston's Portland of Fox. Finding no probability of a passage in this direction, they bore up for home.

Though disappointed, Mr. Arthur Dobbs did not at first attach any blame to Captain Middleton; on the contrary, he expressed himself as well satisfied; but some little time after, receiving an anonymous communication, stating that Middleton had made numerous false statements, particularly with reference to the frozen strait—he caused enquiries to be made, and examined the officers of the ships himself most minutely. The result was a long complant, made to the Lords of the Admiralty, in which he accused Middleton of receiving 5000*l.* from the Hudson's Bay Company, as a bribe not to go the voyage, or to search for it in some other direction to that intimated; at any rate, to draw off the projectors from the right ground; which was referred by their Lordships' to Captain Middleton for explanation.

Captain Middleton replied to these charges by a pamphlet, in which he printed numerous letters, &c., and alleged that Mr. Dobbs's animosity was in consequence of his not allowing certain articles, which had been clandestinely conveyed on board one of the vessels, to be bartered away to the natives at a great profit, to the manifest injury of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, of which company he was an old servant. Mr. Dobbs again returned to the charge, by his "Remarks upon Captain Middleton's Defence, wherein his conduct during the late voyage is impartially examined; his neglect and omissions in that affair fully proved; the falsities and evasions in his defence exposed; the errors of his charts laid open; and his account of currents, straits, and rivers, confuted, &c." This elicited a "Reply" from Captain Middleton; and shortly after another, entitled "Forgery Detected, in which he endeavoured to prove that Mr. Dobbs had been most shamefully imposed on, by some designing individual, with certain forged documents. These two pamphlets brought out other two from Mr. Dobbs, denying that he had either

forged, or been imposed upon by forged papers;—but, notwithstanding these mutual recriminations extend over nine hundred pages of print, the truth of the matter appears never to have been ascertained; although the Act of Parliament[2] which shortly after passed, offering a reward of 20,000*l.* to the discoverers of a N. W. passage, and the *new* expedition which was immediately set on foot, is tantamount to an expressed opinion that Captain Middleton was in the wrong. The vessels selected for the voyage were the Dobbs Galley, of one hundred and eighty tons, William Moor, captain, and the California, of one hundred and forty tons, Francis Smith, captain; they sailed on the 20th May, 1746. Having wintered in a small river near Fort York, from whence they sailed on the 24th of June, the ships stood to the northward, and entered Wager Strait with great hopes, from the set of the tide, of finding they had not misnamed it; when, one hundred and fifty miles from the entrance, whilst the water was as salt as the Atlantic, and everyting wore a promising aspect, the depth suddenly shoaled, and from no bottom with one hundred and forty fathoms of line, the inlet terminated in two unnavigable rivers, one of which was observed to take its rise in a large lake to the south-west. Nothing of any moment was done to the northward, to examine the *frozen strait* of Middleton; and somewhat early it was determined to bear up for England, where the ships arrived on the 4th of October.[3]

Notwithstanding Mr. Ellis says that the last expedition returned with clearer and fuller proofs of the existence of the passage, it does not appear that anything was done in the same quarter for nearly thirty years afterwards.

[2] 18th of Geo. II., cap. 17; and 16th Geo. III., cap, 6.—(*Repealed*).

[3] "A Voyage to Hudson's Bay by the Dobbs Galley, and California, in the years 1746 and 1747." Published by Whitridge in 1748.

CHAPTER XI.

Plans of Peter the Great, formed on his death-bed, carried into execution by the Empress Catherine—Behring's First Expedition—His Second — Shipwreck, disease, dangers, and difficulties—Behring's Death—The remainder of the Crew construct a Small Vessel, and Escape—Fresh Expedition from Russia, commanded by Tchitschagof—Its Failure—Second Attempt, with no better result—The Hudson's Bay Company renewing their exertions to discover Copper Mines, send out Overland Expeditions, commanded by Hearne—Massacre of Esquimaux Encampment—Survey of Copper Mine River.

No sooner had the energetic Peter, justly termed "the Great," completed his vast conquest of the hordes that inhabited the northern parts of Asia, than his comprehensive mind formed the plan of an expedition, to set at rest the question of the connexion, or otherwise, of the American and Asiatic continents at the N. E. extremity of his dominions. This remarkable man, even whilst on his death-bed, drew up, with his own hand, instructions for carrying out this idea; and the Empress Catherine, on his decease, entered warmly into the project; the command of the expedition was entrusted to Captain Vitus Bering or Behring, a Dane by birth, but an officer in the Russian navy. Behring departed from St. Petersburgh on the 5th February, 1725, with Lieutenants Spangberg and Tchirikow, and a numerous party of experienced artificers under his orders. After a journey of little short of 4500 miles, they arrived at Ochotzk; but it was the 14th of July, 1728, before the two

vessels, which had to be built, sailed from the river of Kamtschatka on their voyage. They steered to the N. E., making a running survey of the coast, and on the 8th August, in latitude 64° 30′, held communication with some of the Tschuktzki, or native inhabitants of the country around, who informed them of an island lying a little further north, and of the coast trending round to the west, which statement they afterwards verified.

On the 15th, the latitude of 67° 18′, was attained, no land to be seen either to the north or east; here it was decided to return to Kamtschatka, satisfied that they had fulfilled their instructions, and that it might have been dangerous to pass the winter on the bleak shore before them, the coast line of which appeared like high walls, and was covered with snow winter and summer; they therefore stood to the south, and arrived in the river of Kamtschatka on the 8th September, where they passed the winter.[1]

Behring made an ineffectual attempt to reach the American continent in the year 1729; but it was in 1741 that he sailed on that memorable expedition, with the same officers who had accompanied him on his first voyage, and in which he lost his life.

The two vessels, called the St. Peter and the St. Paul, passed the winter in the Bay of Awatchka, or as it was named after them, Petropoulowski,[2] and sailed from thence on the 4th June, 1741. After searching in vain for land, said to exist in the south-east of Awatchka, they stood to the north, and were just about to alter their course to the east, to reach the American shore, when a thick fog and violent

[1] Harris's Coll. v. ii. pp. 1020-1; Coxe's Russian Discoveries, pp. 21, 24, 94; Burney's N. E. Voy. pp. 117, 123.

[2] Lat. 53° 58′ N., long. 201° 16′ 50″, has an excellent harbour, open from April to November. Captain Clerke, Cook's successor, died at sea, and was interred here.

storm separated the two commanders, who were destined never to meet again. Tschirikow made the continent on the 15th July in 56°, where he anchored in deep water, and sent a boat on shore properly armed, and with instructions to signal the ship on landing. But nothing was seen or heard of them more. Day after day they heard the appointed signals, and at length came to the conclusion, that the barge had received some damage, which it was not in their power to repair. They accordingly despatched the boatswain and six men on shore, furnished with the necessary materials. Their distress may be imagined when, anxiously awaiting the renewal of the signals, no sound broke the silence, but the hoarse roar of the waves as they dashed upon the rocky shore; and their worst apprehensions appeared to be confirmed, when next day two large canoes, filled with savages, came off to the ship; but, apparently intimidated by the number of her crew, withdrew without molesting them, further than shouting at the top of their voices, "Agai, agai!" the signification of which they were not permitted to learn; for a heavy gale from the west arose, and, fearing they might be dashed to pieces on the iron-bound coast, they were forced to weigh, and proceed to sea.

Tschirikow, however, after a cruise of some days, returned to the spot, which now appeared lonely and deserted, and at length it was determined to turn the ship's head homeward. According to Captain Burney, the natives of this part of the coast of North America live principally by hunting and catching game, in which occupations they continually practise every species of decoy. They imitate the whistlings of birds: they have carved wood masks, resembling the heads of animals, which they put on over their own, and enter the woods in masquerade. They had observed the signals made to the ship by the boat which

first landed, and the continuance of those signals afterwards seen and heard by the Russians on board, were doubtless American imitations.[3]

Commodore Behring got sight of the continent three days after Captain Tschirikow, in 58° 28′, or according to another account, 68° N. lat; the sight was grand in the extreme: stupendous mountains, covered with snow, rose one above the other, as far as the vision extended, whilst one far inland, rising to the height of fifteen thousand feet, was plainly discernible sixteen German miles out at sea, and received the name of Mount St. Elias. Here a landing was effected, and traces of the native inhabitants discovered. They proceeded in their survey to the north, until they found the coast trend to the south-west, and the navigation among the small islands, which studded it, extremely tedious and dangerous.

The fatal scurvy soon after broke out among the crew, and its virulence was unhappily increased by their use of some brackish water, which they had procured from one of the islands. Behring himself was attacked by it, and confined to his bed, so that the command devolved upon Lieutenant Wäxel.

For days together it was now one long struggle against westerly winds and heavy fogs. On the 24th September, a high dreary coast was seen, and soon after a dreadful gale at west, drove them before it far to the south-east. For seventeen days they were driven before its fury; "during this dangerous navigation, in which they were repeatedly entangled with islands, and narrowly escaped shipwreck, the misery and despondency of the crew were inexpressible, whilst their condition was rendered still more deplorable by discontent and insubordination, and by the helpless state of Behring. At one period only ten persons were capable of duty, and they were too weak to furl

[3] Burney's N. E. Voy. p. 180.

the sails, so that the ship was left to the mercy of the elements."[4]

On the 4th November land was again seen, in 56° N., on approaching which they came to an anchor, which, however, parted; another was let go, and also gave way, and while preparing a third, the ship was thrown by a high wave over a ledge of rocks into still water. Morning dawned, and they found themselves surrounded on all sides by rocks and breakers, and though they knew that they were not far distant from the coast of Kamtschatka, it became apparent that they would have to remain on this island all the winter.

On the 8th they commenced transporting the sick to the miserable hovels they had with infinite pains built, an operation which resulted in the death of many, owing to the difference of the temperature in their close berths, and the sharp biting wind on deck. Waxel the lieutenant, and Kytrow the master, who had by constant exertion managed until now to keep in tolerable health, at length fell victims to the general contagion, considerably aggravated by the want of anti-scorbutics, and by the nature of their food, which consisted chiefly of the flesh of the sea-otter, so tough that it had to be torn in pieces by the teeth; "on the whole, want, nakedness, cold, sickness, impatience, and despair were our daily guests."[5] In this miserable situation they continued to drag on a weary existence until the 8th December, when the commodore expired. Behring was a man of the greatest merit; his principal fault, Steller says, was extreme mildness, and too great facility in adopting the opinion of others, which occasioned the insubordination and want of discipline so fatal to the expedition. It is much to be regretted, that a man who

[4] Coxe's "Russian Discoveries," p. 65.
[5] Steller's Journal of the Voy. "Russ. Discov." p. 76.

had rendered such signal service to his country, should have thus miserably perished, when it is more than probable that if he had reached the Kamtschatka shore, and enjoyed the comforts of a warm dwelling and fresh provisions, he would have been able to bear up against the many trials he underwent, and have left his name equally renowned in connexion with the strait which he was the first to explore, and unattended by its melancholy celebrity.

On Christmas day most of the crew were recovered by the excellent water and the flesh of sea animals. Of their occupations during the dreary winter months, Steller gives a minute and interesting account in his journal, but our space will not permit any extracts from it. On the 5th May they commenced building a small vessel, which by constant exertion was ready to be launched in July. From that time to the 13th August, they were employed in preparing the tackle, but what was their consternation when in attempting to launch her she hung on the stocks; however, after great difficulty, they succeeded in floating her, and on the 14th, after offering up a fervent prayer to the Almighty for assistance, they set sail in this crazy vessel which was to prove either their salvation or destruction. On the 17th they saw the coast of Kamtschatka, and soon after came to an anchor in Awatchka Bay, where they were received as those risen from the dead.[6]

In the year 1765, the Russian government despatched three vessels, under the command of Vassili Tchitschagof, a captain of the first rank, to make discoveries in the north, it being an opinion held by many men of eminence in Russia, that the sea would be found freer from ice in a high latitude than on the coasts. The squadron sailed from Archangel on the

[6] Coxe's "Russian Discoveries," pp. 30, 101; Burney's "N. E. Voy.," pp. 162, 178.

9th May, and up to the 10th June was unable to get farther north than 78° 8′, when they were obliged to proceed to Bell Sound, in Spitzbergen, where a party was stationed on purpose to supply them with stores. Having taken in nine months' provisions, they again sailed on the 3rd July, and passed twenty days in unavailing attempts to find a passage to the north or west, without, however, being able to reach a higher latitude than 80° 26′, and the expedition was therefore abandoned. Tchitschagof was received at home rather coolly, after the failure of so well-appointed an enterprise; but an enquiry being made into his conduct, he and his officers were honourably acquitted, and preparations were made to send him out again. He sailed from Archangel on the 19th May, and arrived off Spitzbergen on the 30th, finding the ice in nearly the same position as before, and, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, only succeeded in reaching the latitude of 80° 30′.[7]

We have seen that the Hudson's Bay Company fitted out two expeditions, in order to discover the copper mine, said by the natives to exist in the northern parts of Hudson's Bay. Such reports were brought so frequently, and attested by specimens of the ore, that the governor of Prince of Wales' Fort resolved to ascertain their truth by an overland journey. He accordingly selected a man, named Samuel Hearne, who had been bred in the employment of the company, and who was possessed in a high degree of those qualities of hardihood and courage, so requisite for an attempt of this nature; who was instructed to proceed to the borders of the country, inhabited by the Athabasca Indians, where it was expected he would meet with the river, on the shores of which this copper was said to abound. It was known, in Indian parlance,

[7] Coxe's "Russian Discoveries," 1780, pp. 398, 408.

as Neetha-san-san Dazey, or the Far-off Metal River, and Hearne was directed to trace it to its mouth, to ascertain if it was navigable, and whether a settlement in the country was practicable. Hearne set out on this perilous journey on the 6th November, 1769, accompanied by two Englishmen; two of the natives in the employ of the company, known as the Home-Guard Indians; and eight northern Indians, as an escort, under the command of Captain Chawchinahaw and his lieutenant, Nabyah. After penetrating only two hundred miles into the interior, the journey had to be abandoned, on account of the treachery of the Indians, and the desertion of the captain and his whole band, and the adventurers were forced to make their way back to the fort. Hearne started on a second journey on the 23rd February, 1770, taking greater precautions against failure, by leaving the Englishmen and women behind. The guide he selected was an Indian, named Con-ne-a-queeze, and he selected five others, but was again doomed to disappointment.

After four months' journey through a country in which they sometimes found abundance of game, and at others nothing at all, or, as Hearne expresses it—"it may justly be said to have been either all feasting or all famine; sometimes we had too much, seldom just enough, frequently too little, and often none at all." They at length arrived at a small river, called the Cathawhachaga, which empties itself into Snow Lake in the latitude of 64°, when the guide declared it was quite impossible to reach the Copper River that season; and it was, therefore, determined to return to the south, in order to pass the winter. Here they fell in with nearly six hundred Indians, among whom they were sojourning very comfortably, when an accident occurred to his quadrant, which obliged Hearne to set out on his return to the Fort, where he arrived, after many difficulties and extreme

hardships, on the 25th November. On his way, Hearne met with the very Indian who had brought the principal accounts of the mine of copper; and the chief whose name was Captain Matonabbee, and who seems to have been possessed of more than ordinary intelligence, warmly entering into the designs of the governor, it was at length determined to send Hearne out a third time, with Matonabbee as his guide. At the chief's suggestion, no other men were allowed to be of the party; but their place was filled—and, as it afterwards turned out, admirably so—by seven of his wives, it being that worthy's opinion that "women were made for labour; one of them can carry or haul as much as two men can do . . . . and yet, though they do everything, they are maintained at a trifling expense; for, as they always act the cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times is sufficient for their subsistence." They accordingly set out on the 7th of December, and after enduring very much the same privations as before, on account of the improvidence of his Indian companions, Hearne arrived, on the 1st of July, at the River Congecathawhachaga, (probably one of the most remarkable names in the world,) which they crossed, and then proceeded on their route to the north-west and north, passing Lakes Partridge, Pike, Littlefish, Cat or Artillery Lake, Lakes Aylmer, Providence, and Contwoy-to or Rain Lake; until, on the morning of the 13th of July, they beheld from the top of a long chain of hills, a branch of the river of which they were in search, and after a sumptuous repast on some fine buck deer they had killed, a walk of a few miles brought them to the river which had been represented to hold such mineral treasures;—but, alas! after a search of four hours they were rewarded by the discovery of only one small piece of ore; and as to the navigation at this point, it would barely have floated

a large canoe. Hearne would not have taken the absence of the copper much to heart, the grand object of his journey having been accomplished; but his attention was drawn to the singular conduct of the Indians, who, immediately on their arrival at the banks of the river, sent out spies to ascertain whether any Esquimaux were in the neighbourhood, who returned with the information that there were five tents pitched about twelve miles distant. Hearne now learnt that it was the intention of the Indians to fall upon these wretched beings, in the dead of the night, and butcher them in cold blood. In vain were his prayers and solicitations,—they were treated with the greatest contempt; a savage ferocity of purpose pervaded the whole body—at other times perfectly obedient to command—and their plans were laid with an exactness, which shows to what a fearful depth of depravity the soul of man in a state nature has fallen. After painting themselves, and making their bodies look as horrible as lay within their means, the whole party rushed on their unconscious victims, and a scene of the most frightful nature ensued. Hearne, who stood some little distance off, rooted to the ground with horror, was still more agonized when some poor girl, about eighteen years of age, flung herself at his feet imploring his protection, while the pain from the spear wound she had received caused her to twist herself round his limbs. Notwithstanding his earnest entreaties that her life might be spared, the two savage monsters by whom she was pursued drove their spears through her, and transfixed her to the ground, at the same time laughing, and asking him if he wanted an Esquimaux wife.

After this dreadful episode, the remembrance of which, he declares, ever after brought the tears to his eyes, Hearne and his party proceeded to make a careful survey of the Copper Mine River, (for such

was the name it received,) to its confluence with the sea.

That it really was the ocean before him, Hearne had no doubt, from the quantity of seal skin and whalebone observed in the tents of the unfortunate Esquimaux; and, although this has since been doubted, and he has been accused of many inaccuracies and unsatisfactory statements, modern geography has proved that his opinion was correct.

Having accomplished the object of their journey, they set out on their return home, and arrived at Prince of Wales's Fort on the 29th of June, 1772, after an absence of eighteen months and twenty-three days.

Hearne's journey threw a great light on the geography of the North American continent, and laid open that career of discovery which has since been pursued with such brilliant success.

CHAPTER XII.

Expedition under the sanction of George III. and the Admiralty Board, commanded by Captains Phipps and Lutwidge, in which the immortal Nelson was coxswain—Captains Cook and Clerke, sent out on a Voyage of Discovery—Nootka Sound—Cook Killed at the Sandwich Islands—Expedition resumed by Captains Clerke and King—Death of Clerke—Meares, Vancouver, and Kotzebue, visit the North-west Coast of America—Characteristics of the Nootkans—Voyages of Pickersgill and Young—King of Denmark sends out a vessel commanded by Captain Lowenorn.

For more than a century the idea of a passage across the pole had slumbered in England, when a gentleman, whose name is distinguished for the union of rank and talent, took up the question with great ardour. The Hon. Daines Barrington having paid great attention to the subject, and collected a mass of evidence with regard to the navigation of the northern seas, laid it before the Royal Society, of which he was an eminent member, who represented to Earl Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty Board, the great desirableness of renewing the attempt in that quarter.

A plan of an expedition was accordingly drawn up, and submitted to his Majesty George III., who heartily concurred in the proposal; and, accordingly, two bombs, the Racehorse and the Carcass, were equipped for the purpose. The Racehorse was commanded by Captain Constantine John Phipps, (afterwards Lord Mulgrave,) and the Carcass by Captain Skeffington Lutwidge, whose coxswain, then a mere

boy, was the future naval hero of England—Horatio Nelson.

They departed from the Nore on the 4th of June, 1773, and, on the 29th, were close to the bold and lofty coast of Spitzbergen, along which they sailed until they rounded its northern extremity, when an easterly course was taken, between the closely-packed ice and the land. On the 31st of July, in latitude 80° 37′, both ships became encompassed by ice, and remained in this perilous position for some days; after having had recourse, without effect, to the laborious operation of sawing, and just as they had commenced preparations for leaving the ship, and had hoisted out the boats and dragged them over the ice for more than two miles, a slight opening was observed, on which, all sail being set, and the ice becoming more loose owing to the weather turning moist and foggy, they began to make more progress. The ships came up with the boats and took them in; and, on the 10th, a brisk gale from the N. E. springing up, they at length, after many hard knocks, succeeded in getting clear of the pack, and repaired to the harbour of Smeerenburg for rest and refreshment, from whence they returned to England.

Though the hopes of the *savans* and eminent men who had projected the expedition of Captain Phipps were considerably damped by its failure, they did not entirely lose courage, but advised that the next attempt should be made from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and not, as had hitherto been the case, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

To execute this plan, the government fixed upon the immortal Cook, who had, in his two previous voyages, showed himself to be the most illustrious navigator of the age, and who accordingly sailed from Plymouth Sound, in his old ship, the Resolution, on 12th July, 1776, leaving instructions for the Dis-

covery, which was to be entrusted to the command of Captain Charles Clerke, to join him at the Cape of Good Hope. From thence they proceeded in company on their voyage through the southern hemisphere, which, however, is so well known, that we shall only take up their course when they arrived off the coast of New Albion, in latitude 44½° north.

On the 29th of March, they stood into a passage which had the appearance of a harbour, but which on entering, they found to be an unfathomable sound; where, instead of anchoring, there appeared a probability that they would have to make fast to the trees which skirted the shores; but after penetrating into the sound for a distance of six miles, they at length came to an anchor.

Cook learnt from the natives that this extraordinary still pool of water was called by them Nootka Sound,—a name by which it is known to the present day. The natives were "docile, courteous, and good-natured; but quick in resenting what they looked upon as an injury, and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it;" and, with the exception of an innate thievish propensity, they were likewise pretty fair in their mode of barter.

Captain Cook supposed that they had never before held communication with Europeans, from the fact that they were quite unacquainted with fire-arms, and from the consternation they displayed, when one day an officer fired a ball through a war-dress, folded six times, and impenetrable to either spear or arrow, furnishing a convincing proof that they had never before seen or heard of such a dreadful weapon.

From Nootka Sound, Cook coasted along to the northward,—prevented, however, by his instructions, from devoting any time to the examination of the numerous bays, inlets, and rivers which exist on this part of the N. W. coast of America—until he had

attained a latitude of 65°. He, however, thought it his duty to make an accurate survey of an inlet in 60°, which held out some hope of a passage, (which is now known by his name,) and of the coasts of the peninsula of Alaska. Shortly after this, to the great regret of every person in both ships, the surgeon of the Resolution died; and an island, fallen in with on the 3rd August, was named after him, Anderson's Island.

In 65° 45′ N., they doubled a promontory, to which the name of Cape Prince of Wales was given. They had now fairly entered the strait, and they commenced making careful observations as to the tides, and found that the flood ran both stronger and longer than the ebb; from which Cook concluded that, besides the tide, there was a westerly current. From this they stood over to the westward, and landed in a bay of the Tschutzki country, where they were most politely received by the natives, who came down to the boats, taking off their caps and making low bows, but still, however, keeping, with great caution, on the alert, as if fearful of some depredation on the part of their visitors; by degrees, however, this timidity wore off.

These people differed greatly from the dwarfish Americans they had left on the other continent, whose round chubby faces and high cheek bones formed a striking contrast to the long visages, and stout and well made persons of this polite people. They displayed great ingenuity in their articles of dress and various implements.

Leaving this bay, which Cook named St. Lawrence, they stood to the north-east, and on the 11th of August, midway between the two continents, each being seven leagues distant, their soundings were twenty-nine fathoms, which was the greatest depth they found in the strait. In latitude 67° 45′, a point of the American shore was named after Lord Mul-

grave. On the 18th, at noon, their latitude was 70° 43′ N., at which time they were close to a solid wall of ice, ten or twelve feet high. In standing for the land from this vast barrier, a low point to the extreme east was observed, much incumbered with ice, for which reason it was named Icy Cape, and, until Captain Beechey's voyage, this point remained the boundary of our progress in the attempt to discover a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

After standing along this immense body of ice, they reached the Asiatic shore, and named a point of it, in latitude 68° 56′, Cape North. Captain Cook was of opinion that the coast would be found to take a very westerly direction from this place, and he endeavoured to trace it, until he was stopped in his course by thick fogs; when, deeming it too late in the season to continue his explorations, he decided to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, and resume the attempt in the ensuing summer. This determination, however, it was his fate never to carry out. He returned to the Sandwich Islands, where that fatal contest occurred, in which this great commander lost his life. The expedition was, indeed, resumed by Captains Clerke and King, but though repeated attempts were made, they did not advance so far to the north, or on the coast of either continent, as they had done the year before; and on the 27th July further attempt was relinquished, and their course bent toward home, after an absence of three years, on a voyage of which they were now all heartily sick. Captain Clerke, who had been in a dying state almost from the commencement of the voyage—he was now reduced to an absolute skeleton —and at length breathed his last on the 23rd August, and was interred at Petropoulowski.

The north-west coast of America was visited subsequently to the expedition of Cook and Clerke by

various navigators: among whom were Meares, Vancouver, and Kotzebue. The first was sent out by the leading mercantile men of Bengal, with the hope of realizing large profits in a trade for furs with the natives of Nootka Sound. He passed a very severe winter in Prince William's Sound, during which he lost twenty-three men by the scurvy, and was only too happy to escape from his prison to the Sandwich Islands, where, in ten days, such was the salubrity of the climate, the whole crew were completely restored to health. Captain Meares was again sent out on a similar voyage in the year 1778, by his opulent employers; but his objects being principally those of trade, he did not reach a higher latitude than 49° 37′ N. His account of the manners and customs of the Nootkans, which he had ample opportunities of studying, is most interesting. Their intense eagerness for the possession of copper, and, indeed, metal of every kind, carried even to so great a length, that an important treaty was entered into between two powerful chiefs, by which one agreed to surrender to the other a large quantity of the most valuable skins of the sea otter for two copper kettles, which had been received in barter from Meares; their water-processions and whale-hunts; their strikingly beautiful vocal music; their gigantic dwellings, supported by enormous trees and carved images, the entrance being made through the colossal mouth of one of these latter; and lastly their frightful partiality for human flesh, (proved almost beyond a doubt by the festoons of human skulls observed in one chief's dining-room, and the pillow on which the head of another rested at night, by the exposure of men's heads and limbs for sale, and by the tales told of the custom of killing and eating slaves,) and this so strikingly contrasted with the general kindness and dignified courtesy of their manners; are all most minutely and pleasingly

related, and present a perfect view of the extraordinary inhabitants of this part of the world.

The voyages of Captain Meares had been brought about by the account of Captain Cook's expedition to Behring's Straits; but two attempts were made more immediately in connection with the latter, in the years 1776 and 1777, by Lieutenants Pickersgill and Young. These officers were sent out in the Lion, an armed brig, with a view of acting in concert with Cook, in his attempt to make an eastern passage; but they only succeeded in reaching respectively the latitudes of 68° 10′, and 72° 42′.

In 1786 and 1787, the King of Denmark, at the recommendation of Bishop Egede, (a son of the celebrated Greenland missionary, Hans Egede,) sent an expedition under the command of Captain Lowenorn, to discover the eastern coast of Greenland, and any traces that might there exist of the supposed old Danish colonies, but which proved entirely unsuccessful.

CHAPTER XIII.

Formation of North-west Company, in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company—Mackenzie's Land Expedition to the shores of the Hyperborean Sea—Voyages of Vancouver and Kotzebue—Mackenzie's Second Land Expedition.

It was hardly to be supposed but that the enormous profits which the Hudson's Bay Company realized in their trade with the simple-minded Indian, should be a source of great dissatisfaction to many who were equally anxious to share in the spoil, but who were jealously excluded, and the result of this feeling was the formation of the North-west Company, the establishment of which was followed by "a scene of fierce contention for the mastery in the trade; until the Indian must have smiled to hear the white man call him Savage."

One of the resident officers of the North-west Company (at this time rapidly rising in importance) was a Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, a native of Inverness, who formed the bold conception of penetrating across the North American Continent, from their most advanced station at Fort Chepewyan, on the Achabasca Lake. He started on his first expedition to the north, with a party of Canadians, on the 3rd June, 1789, and arrived at the Slave Lake on the 9th, where they were detained for a week by the ice. On the 29th, after numerous vexatious delays, Mackenzie embarked on the river now known by his name.

In his progress down this river, Mackenzie fell in

with a party of the Slave and Dog-ribbed Indians, who endeavoured by every possible means to dissuade him from continuing his course further down, telling the most absurd stories of monsters who dwelt on its banks, whose victims they would inevitably become if they persisted in their rash attempt. Mackenzie, however, treated all these fears with contempt, and having, by dint of presents, persuaded one of them to act as a guide, again set forward on his voyage.

After some little progress had been made, their guide decamped in the night, and they were forced to seize others from the native tribes, now constantly met with, one of which, from the menacing gestures with which they received the explorers, was called Deguthee-Dinees, or the Quarellers.[1]

On the 12th July, they arrived at an island in latitude 69° 14′, which was called Whale Island, from the number of whales observed floating on the water, and which were at first taken for masses of ice. Mackenzie ascended to the highest ground, and beheld the ice, in one solid body, extend east and west as far as the eye could reach; while he dimly discerned in the horizon a lofty chain of mountains, apparently about twenty leagues distant, and stretching to the northward. On the 16th July, they re-embarked on their homeward voyage, and on the 12th September arrived safely at Fort Chepewyan, after an absence of one hundred and two days.

Mackenzie's journey formed an important link in the evidence of the existence of a great hyperborean ocean, the White Man's, or Stinking Lake of the northern Indians, who dwelt on its shores; and although his narrative is not, perhaps, as clear as it might have been, there is still no doubt but that he reached the shores of the Frozen Sea, which had already been seen further to the eastward by Hearne.

[1] The Loucheux, or "*Squint-eyes*" of the Indians.

Three years after his first journey, Mackenzie started on another, with the view of penetrating to the west across the Rocky Mountains, in search of a river of which he had received some intelligence from the natives, and supposed to discharge its waters into Cook's River.

He set out on the 10th October, 1792, and ascended the Peace River towards its source in the Rocky Mountains, a voyage attended with very considerable difficulties, owing to the dangerous rapids and cataracts by which it was so frequently broken, that, as they neared the snow-clad mountains, further progress by water was absolutely impossible. They therefore commenced cutting a passage up the sides of the mountain, and after infinite labour, managed to haul the canoe and baggage to the summit, where they found a small river, deep enough to float the canoe, on which they embarked. Their course led them through numerous settlements of the industrious beaver, who had felled whole acres of large trees in the vicinity, in order to construct their extraordinary dwelling-places.

On the banks of this river they met with a tribe of Indians, who at first received them with great show of hostility, but who were soon reconciled by a few presents. Here the journey was very nearly frustrated; the Indians were, or appeared to be, quite ignorant of any river to the west, which Mackenzie was so anxious to find, flowing into what they were pleased to term the Great Stinking Lake; but while standing near a group of them, with whom his interpreter was conversing, he sufficiently understood one of the Indians, who spoke of a large river near their present station, which flowed towards the mid-day sun, to suspect his guide of false dealing; and so it turned out. The man, heartily tired of the dangers they had already passed through, and expecting only a continuation of

them in their further progress, had returned false answers to Mackenzie's eager enquiries.

The voyage was now resumed, under the guidance of the Indian who gave the information, and they were making excellent progress, when the canoe struck on one of the numerous sharp rocks lying in the bed of the river, and unfortunately this being immediately followed by the passage of a rapid, it made her a complete wreck. They managed, however, to repair her, and again embarked.

Day after day they continued their toils and progress, until they arrived at the habitations of a tribe, from one of whom Mackenzie learnt a great deal, as to the course of the river they now were following, and which he represented as quite impossible to navigate, on account of the dangerous falls and rapids occurring at every few leagues. On the other hand, the land journey to the shores of the western sea was said to be quite practicable; and accordingly Mackenzie, whose ardour neither the desertion of guides, nor the dangers of the route, could suppress, determined to abandon the canoe, and conclude his adventurous journey in this manner.

Laden, therefore, with the thirty days' provision which remained, they commenced their march through a tolerably open country, and at length arrived among a tribe whose houses were like those of the Nootkans, one hundred and twenty feet long, and capable of holding many families, and who most hospitably regaled them with roasted salmon, and delicious ripe raspberries and gooseberries, luxuries abounding on the Pacific side of the North American continent, to which they had long been strangers. Their superstition, however, with regard to the fish frequenting these waters was rather curious; they would not allow venison, which they refused to touch, to be carried in the boat, for fear the smell should drive

away the salmon, who were likewise supposed to have an invincible dislike to iron, and for that reason they refused to give the travellers any supplies of this fish in a raw state, lest it should be boiled in a kettle.

Leaving these hospitable natives, and accompanied by four of them as guides, the voyage was resumed in a large canoe, and on the 20th July, after a passage of thirty-six miles, they arrived at the mouth of the river which discharges itself into the Gulf of Georgia, in the parallel of 50°. Here this daring expedition terminated; Mackenzie returned by the same route, leaving the following token of his triumph over almost insuperable obstacles, written on the face of the cliff in perishable vermillion:—

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE,
From Canada by land, the 22nd of July, 1793.

Long since has this simple memorial, so strangely different from the pompous language of Balboa, when nearly three centuries before he achieved a somewhat similar feat, been effaced; but the name and fame of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, as an Arctic hero, are undying.

At the point where Mackenzie's interesting journey terminated, the voyage of Captain Vancouver, who had been a midshipman under Captain Cook, may be said to have commenced, in his search after a passage, which was supposed to exist among the immense archipelago of islands in this quarter. However, after having examined this coast, from the lat. of 41° to 60°, with an accuracy that leaves nothing to be desired, he proved beyond a doubt, that no such passage did exist; an opinion which gained him no little animosity, on his return, from those who upheld this idea.

Lieutenant Kotzebue, a son of the celebrated writer of that name, was likewise despatched in the year

1815 to this quarter. He was furnished, by the noble and patriotic Count Romanzoff, with a small vessel called the Rurick, of not more than a hundred tons. He entered Behring's Straits, and keeping along the American shore, in lat. 68°, stood into a deep opening, which he trusted might prove the desired passage, as he saw nothing but water as far as the eye could reach; but after spending a fortnight in examining carefully this deep sound, no outlet was discovered to strengthen this hope.

The shores of this sound, to which Kotzebue has very properly left his name, were well peopled by a fine race of men, who exactly resembled the description given by Cook of the Tschuktzki on the Asiatic continent.

Kotzebue observed the skulls and skins of reindeer, from which he inferred that that animal was to be met with in the country around; he also brought home drawings of several elephants' teeth, picked up, and which, if not brought by the great Polar current from the opposite shores of Siberia and Tartary, where they are found in such enormous quantities, are very curious, as being the first that have been discovered in the New World.

CHAPTER XIV.

Spirit of Enterprise re-kindled through the exertions of Sir John Barrow—Expedition under Ross and Parry—Expedition under Buchan and Franklin—Brief Biography of Franklin—Continuation and Termination of Voyage.

THE commencement of the nineteenth century was a glorious era for the prospects of further geographical research in the Polar Seas. Much money had hitherto been spent, and many lives had been lost, in unavailing efforts to clear up a question which was becoming more and more interesting, in proportion as the difficulties of its solution seemed greater; when at this time the renewal of these efforts, after a lapse of half a century, on a much grander scale, was determined on by his Majesty's government, seemingly with a great probability of success.

The late esteemed secretary of the Admiralty, Sir John Barrow, Bart., was the principal mover in this, and, indeed, in every other similar project that has since been entered into with the same purposes in view. He collected and arranged chronologically everything that was known of Polar voyages, wrote learned disquisitions in the Quarterlies, to prove that the winters for three years previously had been very wet, owing to the vast quantities of Polar ice which had drifted from their fastnesses into the broad Atlantic, and thereby greatly increased the probability of making the passage; pressed upon the English nation

the honour of completing a discovery, to which her old navigators had been the first to open the way; and, in fine, entered with such ardour into the subject, that two expeditions were at length determined on; one to solve, if possible, the question of the north-western passage, and the other to sail across the Pole.

The first, the one we shall at present follow, consisted of the Isabella, of three hundred and eighty-five tons, and fifty-seven men, commanded by Captain John Ross, and the Alexander, of two hundred and fifty-two tons, and thirty-seven men, commanded by Lieutenant William Edward Parry. The vessels, which were as strong as wood and iron could make them, dropped down the Thames on the 18th April, 1818, and on the 27th May rounded Cape Farewell, and at a considerable distance to the eastward they fell in with their first iceberg. On the 17th June their progress was arrested by the ice, in the neighbourhood of Waygat Island, which was found to be set down on the Admiralty chart five degrees of longitude, and half a degree of latitude, out of its true place. Here they were obliged to remain, in company with forty whalers, until the 20th June, when the ice loosened considerably, and they commenced using every effort to get forward; by dint of hard labour in towing and warping the ships among packs of ice, where it was frequently necessary to cut a passage, they managed to make some progress, until the 17th July, when two ice-floes closed on them, and they were completely jammed in; however, after a concussion, which lasted fifteen minutes, and which but for the great strength of the ships, and the prompt measures taken to extricate them, would have crushed them to atoms, they happily succeeded in heaving through.

On the 6th August they were engaged in sawing a passage through the bay-ice towards a pool a-head,

but before it could be reached, notwithstanding they laboured incessantly, a gale of wind sprung up, and placed them in a situation of greater peril than had ever before been experienced by any on board, even by those who had passed their lives in the Greenland trade. The two ships fell foul of each other; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and a boat which could not be removed in time, was crushed to pieces; the chain-plates were broken, and the fall of the masts was every moment looked for, when, by the interposition of Providence, the two fields of ice suddenly receded, and they escaped without any material injury, and inspired with renewed confidence, in the strength of the ships.

The gale having abated, and the weather having cleared up, land was seen in latitude 75° 54′. On the 8th August they fell in with an island utterly desolate, but with numerous heaps of stones, such as the Esquimaux usually raise over their dead: next day these people made their appearance, drawn with wonderful rapidity in sledges by their dogs over the ice. On an attempt being made to communicate with them, they exhibited the greatest alarm, but at length an interview was obtained by means of an Esquimaux interpreter on board, named John Sacheuse, of whose personal history a very touching biographical sketch may be found in "Blackwood's Magazine," supposed to be from the pen of Captain Basil Hall.

They were very earnest in their enquiries about the ships, which all Sacheuse's eloquence failed to make them believe were not birds; and it was with great difficulty, and by many arguments, he succeeded in convincing them that he himself was flesh and blood, an announcement that called forth a general exclamation of "*heigh yaw*," (probably the "*Iliaout*" of the early navigators, and remarkable as being the same expression as that universally used by the

Chinese and Tartars to express surprize and pleasure.)

Captain Ross observed knives among these people, the blades of which had every appearance of a meteoric origin, which, if true, would seem to prove the fact that aërolites fall in every part of the world. But the most remarkable thing that was observed in this neighbourhood, was a kind of crimson snow with which the face of the cliffs was lightly covered. It was the general opinion of the officers, that this unusual appearance was of vegetable origin; in which they were afterwards borne out by Dr. Wollaston and Mr. Brown, the eminent botanists; but others, on the contrary, maintained that it was the excrement of the little auk (*Alca alle*), whose numbers hereabouts were so great, as sometimes literally to darken the air, and whose food consists of a minute species of shrimp very common in the arctic seas. The snow had, when first collected, every appearance of raspberry ice-cream, and the colouring globules, which were extremely minute, had a fœtid animal smell; and yielded, on distillation, oil and ammonia.

This crimson snow, however, appears to be not uncommon in alpine regions. Aristotle and Pliny have said that decayed snow breeds a red worm in it. It has been observed on the mountains near Genoa, in various parts of the Alps and Pyrenees, and also in the northern part of Spitzbergen, where its appearance has generally been attributed to vegetable origin.

Leaving the "Arctic Highlanders," and their singular cliffs, the expedition approached those great sounds which Baffin had named, but so imperfectly described. Wolstenholme's and Whale Sounds were passed much too hastily, it would appear, for the commander's future fair fame; and, indeed, no particular attention was paid to any of these large open-

ings, until they arrived, on the 19th August, about sixty miles off Sir Thomas Smith's Sound. The two capes which formed its entrance were distinctly seen, and were named after the Isabella and Alexandria. "I considered," says Captain Ross, "the *bottom* of this sound to be about *eighteen* leagues distant, but its entrance was completely blocked up by ice." This paragraph, involving, as it does, the important question of the insularity of Greenland, has been a subject of great contention, it having been denied that any bottom to the sound *was*, or *could be* observed, owing to the great distance off the land.

A similar unfortunate examination, if such it can be called, was extended to Alderman Jones's Sound, off which they remained four days, without sending a boat on shore. Following the trending of the head of the bay, and standing to the southward, on the 30th of August Ross arrived off that magnificent inlet named by Baffin Sir James Lancaster's Sound, the entrance to which was perfectly clear, and the soundings from six hundred and sixty to one thousand fathoms.

The ships stood in, "every officer and man, on the instant as it were, having made up his mind that this must be the north-west passage, and firmly anticipating the pleasure of writing an overland dispatch, either from the eastern or western shores of the Pacific;" at least so says a brief view of the voyage, written by the assistant surgeon of the Alexander, and published in a monthly journal on the return of the ships to England, an expression which is corroborated by Sir Edward Parry; though Captain Ross says that the "general opinion was, that it was only an inlet." [1]

However, after running in for thirty, or, as Captain

[1] A voyage of Discovery in his majesty's ships Isabella and Alexander, for the purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay and inquiring into the probability of a North-West Passage, by John Ross, K.S., commander, 1819; p.171.

Ross says, eighty,[2] miles, he states that on the 31st August, he distinctly saw the land round the bottom of the bay, forming a connected chain of mountains with those which extended along the north and south sides, and also a continuity of ice, reaching from one side of the bay to the other.

The signal was therefore made for the Alexander to put about, an order which her commander, Lieutenant Parry, declares he never could understand, as he was himself full of the most sanguine hopes, and saw no grounds for such conduct, but which his duty of course obliged him to obey. It is also said, that this manœuvre was executed on board the Isabella, whilst most of her officers were below at dinner, and ignorant of what was going on.

After leaving Lancaster Sound, the ships stood away to the south, and on the 1st October arrived off the entrance of Cumberland Strait, which would have been another favourable opening for resuming the search for a passage, had not Captain Ross chosen to read his instructions from the Admiralty Board in a different manner to which it seems they were intended, and passed by it on his passage direct home, where he arrived early in the month of October.

Of the polar expedition under the command of Captain David Buchan, no account was given to the world for twenty-five years after its return, when a very interesting Journal was published by Captain F W. Beechey, who served in the voyage as lieutenant of the Trent. Whatever may have been the causes which delayed the publication of the narrative of this voyage, it has lost nothing of its value by its non-

[2] "Observations on a work, entitled 'Voyages, &c., within the Arctic Regions, by Sir John Barrow, Bart., Ætat 82:' being a refutation of the numerous misrepresentations contained in that volume, by Sir John Ross, C.B., &c., Captain, R.N." Blackwood, 1846. See p. 28.

appearance for so many years; and like everything else from Captain Beechey's pen, is one of the most lively, interesting, and agreeable books ever written.

The ships equipped for this voyage were the Dorothea and Trent, commanded by Captain David Buchan, and Lieutenant, now Captain Sir John Franklin. The latter gallant officer is now passing his fifth winter in the frozen north; his return from which, hundreds of thousands of his countrymen await with breathless anxiety; it may therefore be interesting if we here give a brief outline of the career of one of the greatest travellers the world ever produced; which, though somewhat premature in this stage of the narrative, may be excused, as we are now relating the voyage in which he first entered on that field of enterprise, where he was destined, in after years, to win such unfading laurels.

Captain Sir John Franklin was born in 1786, at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire; he is the brother of the late Sir Willingham Franklin, Kt., Chief Justice at Madras. He entered the Navy 1st October, 1800, as a boy on board the Polyphemus, 64, Captain John Lawford, under whom he served as midshipman in the action off Copenhagen, 2nd April, 1801. He then, in the Investigator, sloop, Captain Flinders, sailed on a voyage of discovery to New Holland, where, on joining the Porpoise, armed store ship, Lieutenant Commander Robert Merrick Fowler, he was wrecked on a coral reef near Cato Bank, 17th August, 1803.

While afterwards on his passage home in the Earl Camden, East Indiaman, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Dance, the commodore of a China fleet of sixteen sail, Mr. Franklin appears to have had charge of the signals, and to have distinguished himself at the celebrated repulse of a powerful French squadron under Admiral Linois, 15th February, 1804.

Joining, on his arrival in England, the Bellerophon, 74, Captains John Loring, John Cooke, and Edward Rotherham, he subsequently, under Captain Cooke, took part in the battle of Trafalgar; and on that occasion, 21st October, 1805, we again find him superintending the signal department, and evincing very conspicuous zeal and activity.

On being next transferred to the Bedford, 74, Captains Adam M'Kenzie and James Walker, of which ship he was confirmed a lieutenant 11th February, 1808, Mr. Franklin escorted the royal family of Portugal from Lisbon to South America.

During the afterpart of the war he was chiefly employed at the blockade of Flushing; and he then, towards the close of 1814, joined the expedition to New Orleans. On the 14th December, in the same year, he was slightly wounded, while leading the Bedford's boats in unison with those of a squadron, at the capture, on Lake Borgne, of five American gun-boats under Commodore Jones, which did not surrender until, after a desperate conflict, they had occasioned the British a total loss of seventeen men killed and seventy-seven wounded.

During the attack on New Orleans Mr. Franklin assisted in conducting the indescribably arduous operation of cutting a canal across the entire neck of land between the Bayou Catalan and the Mississippi; and for his conduct on the morning of the 8th January, 1815, when he commanded the small-arm men under Captain Rowland Money, at the brilliant defeat of a body of Americans strongly entrenched on the right bank of that river, he was officially and very warmly recommended for promotion.

After serving for a short period during the summer of 1815, as first-lieutenant of the Forth, 40, Captain Sir William Bolton, he assumed command, 14th January, 1818, of the hired brig Trent, in which he

accompanied Captain David Buchan, of the Dorothea, on a perilous voyage of discovery to the neighhourhood of Spitsbergen.

In April, 1819, having paid off the Trent in the preceeding November, he was invested with the conduct of an expedition destined to proceed overland from the shores of Hudson's Bay for the purpose, more particularly, of ascertaining the actual position of the mouth of the Coppermine River, and the exact trending of the shores of the Polar Sea to the eastward of it. The details of that fearful undertaking, which he endured until the summer of 1822, and in the course of which he reached as far as Point Turnagain, in latitude 68° 19′ north, and longitude 109° 25′ west, and effected a journey altogether of 5550 miles, will be found in another part of our narrative. Captain Franklin's commander's and post commissions bear date respectively 1st January, 1821, and 20th November, 1822.

On 16th February, 1825, this energetic officer again left England on another expedition to the frozen regions, having for its object a co-operation with Captains F. W. Beechey and Edward William Parry, in ascertaining from opposite quarters the existence of a north-west passage. The results of this mission will also be found in our pages.

On his return to England, where he arrived 26th September, 1827, he was presented by the Geographical Society of Paris with a gold medal, valued at 1200 francs, as having made the most important acquisitions to geographical knowledge during the preceding year, and on the 29th April, 1829, he received the honour of Knighthood, besides being awarded, in July following, the Oxford degree of a D. C. L.

From the 23rd August, 1830, until paid off in January, he next commanded the Rainbow, twenty-

eight, on the Mediterranean station, for his exertions during which period as connected with the troubles in Greece, he was presented with the order of the Redeemer of Greece.

Sir John Franklin, who was created a K.C.H. the 25th January, 1836, and was afterwards for some time Lieutenant-governor of Van Dieman's Land, has, as captain of the Erebus, discovery-ship, been engaged since the 3rd March, 1845, in the attempt to explore a north-west passage through Lancaster Sound to Behring Strait, and God send that he and his gallant crews may yet return from that attempt to gladden the hearts of their sorrowing friends.[3]

The Dorothea and Trent sailed from England early in the spring of the year 1818, and on the 24th May reached Cherie Island, where immense herds of the walrus were observed.

The weather soon after became very foggy, and the ships were separated, but mutually stood for Magdalena Bay, on the north-eastern point of Spitzbergen, the appointed place of rendezvous in case of such an accident, where they anchored on the 3rd June. Here some magnificent avalanches were witnessed; one, occasioned by the report of a musket at the distance of half a mile from the glacier, broke away from the main body of the iceberg, and fell headlong into the sea with a noise like thunder. The crew of the launch, who were sitting quietly looking on the scene, were suddenly astonished to find the boat rise on the breast of a great roller, and before they had time to take any precautions she was washed upon the beach, and so badly stove as to require repairing before they could regain the ship. The distance the boat had been carried by the wave was found on measurement to be ninety-six feet.

[3] "O'Byrne's Naval Biography."

A second avalanche of still greater proportions, which was afterwards measured and found to be nearly a quarter of a mile in circumference, and the weight of which was computed at 421,660 tons, caused such rollers in the bay, that the Dorothea, then careering at the distance of four miles, was compelled to release the tackles to avoid being swamped.

Leaving these magnificent natural phenomena, and the interesting shores of the bay, the ships stood to the west through the half-congealed water, and fell in with some whale-ships, from whom they learned that the sea to the westward was completely packed with ice, and that fifteen vessels were beset in it. Captain Buchan therefore stood to the northward, but before he was able to clear the north-western extreme of Spitzbergen, the ships got into the midst of a floe, in which they remained bound for thirteen days, and by which they were carried bodily to the southward, at the rate of three miles a day; but at length, getting free, took shelter in Fair Haven.

They again put to sea on the 6th July, and got as far as 80° 15′ north, when the ice once more arrested their progress. Having forced their way into an opening, the ships were again beset and remained so for three weeks, notwithstanding that every effort was made to extricate them, and push to the northward. All was however in vain, and in latitude 80° 34′, Captain Buchan abandoned the idea of making a northern passage; but having resolved to try the eastern coast of Greenland, he sailed along the edge of the pack with that intention, when suddenly a violent gale of wind came on, and the Dorothea was driven on to the mass with a force that threatened instant destruction.

Human power was too insignificant to cope for an instant with the mighty war of elements, and the only thing that could be effected was to put the

ship's head right into the ice, which was accordingly done by both vessels, and they plunged into the "unbroken line of furious breakers in which immense pieces of ice were heaving and subsiding with the waves, and dashing together with a violence which nothing apparently but a solid body could withstand, occasioning such a noise that it was with the greatest difficulty we could make our orders heard by the crew. . . . . "Each person instinctively secured his own hold, and with his eyes fixed upon the masts, awaited in breathless anxiety the moment of concussion. It soon arrived;—the brig, cutting her way through the light ice, came in violent contact with the main body. In an instant we all lost our footing, the masts bent with the impetus, and the cracking timbers from below bespoke a pressure which was calculated to awaken our serious apprehensions. . . . . Her motion was so great that the ship's bell, which in the heaviest gale of wind had never struck of itself, now tolled so continually that it was ordered to be muffled, for the purpose of escaping the unpleasant association it was calculated to produce."

At length providentially the gale abated, and the ships were got into an open sea, but the Dorothea was in such a dreadful state that it was with the utmost difficulty she was kept afloat until they reached Fair Haven, where she was repaired, and the two vessels then set sail for home. Lieutenant Franklin requested that he might be allowed to remain out to make another trial, but Captain Buchan, very properly under the circumstances of the case, refused to accede to his desire. On the 30th August they put to sea, and on the 22nd October arrived in the Thames.

CHAPTER XV.

Expedition commanded by Captains Parry and Liddon—Penetrate to the North Georgian Group—Winter Quarters—Theatricals—Ship Newspaper—School—Re-appearance of Sun—Close of Theatre—Hunting Excursions—Voyage resumed—Discouragement—Return Home.

THE voyage of Captain John Ross to Baffin's Bay, and his imperfect examination of its shores, from various causes, was not, as may be imagined, considered by its anxious projectors as sufficient proof of the non-existence of the long-sought passage. A new expedition was therefore decided on, the command of which was entrusted to Lieutenant, now Captain, Parry.

The ships appointed were the Hecla, a bomb of three hundred and seventy-five tons, well adapted for stowage, with a crew of fifty-eight men; and the Griper, a twelve-gun brig of one hundred and eighty tons, and a complement of thirty-six men, commanded by Lieutenant Matthew Liddon.

The vessels, provisioned for two years, sailed from the Thames on the 8th May, 1819, and arrived in the middle of Davis Straits on the 18th June, where they fell in with the usual formidable barrier of ice. When Parry had attained the latitude of 73° he saw that his only chance to reach the western shore was to put the ships into the detached pieces and floes of ice, and trust to incessant heaving and warping to attain

his object; and he accordingly pursued this course, until the 30th July, when he arrived off Possession Bay, the southern entrance of Lancaster Sound, just one month earlier than Ross in 1818.

The line here went down to the depth of sixty and seventy fathom, which was a favourable omen, but a tantalizing wind from the west caused them to make but slow progress. On the 31st they landed at a spot they had visited the previous year, where they found the flag-staff still standing, and the foot-prints as fresh as if made but a few days before; another favourable sign, inasmuch as it proved that very little snow had fallen since their visit.

An easterly wind, which soon encreased to a fresh gale, and a press of sail, carried them gallantly up this magnificent sound, while their almost breathless anxiety may be more easily imagined than described. Report after report was made from the mast-heads, which were crowded with officers, "and an unconcerned observer, if any could have been unconcerned on such an occasion, would have been amused by the eagerness with which they were received."

In this state of anxious suspense they continued standing on until they had attained the west longitude of 83° 12′, placing nearly a hundred miles between them and the entrance of the sound; and transforming Ross's insuperable Croker range into a splendid bay, which now bears the same honoured name. At this point the strait, to which the name of Sir John Barrow was given, still maintained a breadth of thirteen leagues; and the sea before them appearing as free from ice as any part of the Atlantic, they began to flatter themselves that they had fairly entered the Polar Sea; some indeed, more sanguine than the rest, commenced calculating the bearing and distance of Icy Cape, when they fell in with a small island, from which a barrier of ice extended to the northern

shore of the strait; and Parry, finding that it was useless to hope to penetrate through this obstacle for the present, stood to the southward in order to examine an inlet which he had observed. He found it to be about thirty miles broad, and the western shore much encumbered with ice, but standing over to the eastern he was enabled to proceed along it to the south for about a hundred and twenty miles, during which time the compass gradually became so sluggish as scarcely to be of the slightest use; when, as its width appeared to be increasing, and their hopes of a passage were rising in proportion, they suddenly perceived a floe of ice stretch away to the southward, beyond which there was neither land nor water visible.

The latitude attained was 71° 53′ 30″, longitude 90° 03′ 45″, and Captain Parry says that he saw no reason "to doubt the practicability of ships penetrating much farther to the south by watching the occasional openings in the ice," and thought it highly probable that the inlet would be found to communicate with Hudson's Bay; but he determined not to waste time here, but to return at once to the great western opening, which however, owing to baffling winds and heavy fogs, he did not regain until the 19th August. To this inlet he gave the name of the Prince Regent, having entered it on the 12th August, his Royal Highness's birthday. His extreme point of view he named Cape Kater, and to a bay and fine harbour on the eastern shore he gave the name of Port Bowen.

On reaching the entrance they found the ice still thickly concentrated round Prince Leopold Island, but a few showers of rain and snow worked such a striking change in the course of a few days, that "it was almost impossible to believe it to be the same sea which but a day or two before had been completely covered with floes to the utmost extent of view."

Eagerly resuming their progress, on the evening of the 22nd, after naming several bays and headlands on the northern shore, the ships arrived off the mouth of a noble-looking strait, more than eight leagues in width, and as seen from the mast-heads on a beautifully clear evening, apparently perfectly clear from land and ice; a matter of great comfort to them as the continuity of the land to the northward was beginning to give them considerable uneasiness, for fear that it might take a turn to the southward and unite with the coast of America. "To this noble channel," says Parry, "I gave the name of Wellington, after his Grace the Master-General of the Ordnance."

Although this grand opening offered many advantages for exploration, Parry preferred to hold on his present westerly course up Barrow's Strait, though he made but slow progress, on account of the detached floes of ice, the danger from which was considerably heightened by foggy weather.

Cornwallis, Griffith, Lowther, Bathurst, and Byam Martin islands, were successively named and passed. On the latter island the remains of Esquimaux habitations were found in four different places, besides numerous traces of the reindeer and musk-ox. The valleys were covered with a luxuriant moss, similar to some noticed in the ravines of Possession Bay.

On the 4th September, the expedition crossed the meridian of 110° west from Greenwich, in the latitude of 74° 44′ 20″, by which the crews became entitled to the reward of five thousand pounds, granted by an order in council, grounded on an act of parliament[1] to such of his Majesty's subjects as should penetrate thus far to the westward, within the Artic Circle. To do

[1] 58 Geo. III., cap. 20, "An act for more effectually discovering the Longitude at Sea, and encouraging attempts to find a Northern Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to approach the Northern Pole." *Repealed.*

honour to this joyful event, a bluff headland off which this announcement was made, received from the men the name of *Bounty Cape.*

It was Captain Parry's earnest hope that he might have the remainder of the month of September before him, to prosecute his discovery before the winter should set in; but his vexation was very great when, on the 8th, his progress was entirely stopped by a fixed body of ice, extending completely in to the shore, near a point forming the western extreme of the largest island which they had yet met with in Barrow's Strait, named after Viscount Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty. He therefore returned to a bay, in which the Hecla and Griper had on the 5th dropped anchor, for the first time since leaving the coast of England, "a circumstance which was rendered the more striking at the moment, as it appeared to mark, in a very decided manner, the completion of one stage of the voyage," and they had hardly reached their resting place, after incurring most imminent danger from the floes of ice continually driving on shore, ere the winter set in.

Before, however, they could feel at all secure in their quarters, it became absolutely necessary to get the ships into an anchorage through a floe of ice, averaging seven inches in thickness, and of the length of nearly two miles and a quarter. This necessity gave rise to the most laborious operation of cutting a canal, which was performed in two days; and on the 26th September, 1819, the Hecla and Griper were hauled into winter harbour, in five fathoms' water, with three hearty cheers from both ships' companies.

Parry had now reached a position in which he must remain for at least eight or nine months, three or four of which would have to be passed without light from the sun, and under all the severities of an arctic climate, hundreds of miles from any civilized abode, and with-

out any pleasanter prospect whereon to gaze than one immense expanse of dazzling ice, unbroken except by a few hammocks. "The ships, and the smoke issuing from their several fires, indicating the presence of man, alone gave a partial cheerfulness to the prospect; and the sound of voices which, in the calm and cold air, was heard at an extraordinary distance, alone broke the deathlike stillness that reigned around them. Amid this total want of objects, even a stone of any uncommon size rising above the snow, became a mark to which their eyes were unconsciously fixed, and their feet mechanically advanced."

It was now that Captain Parry's real worth was discovered; "he possessed that decisive, and at the same time conciliatory character, joined to that knowledge of human nature, and particularly of the character of sailors, which fitted him for a management, in which it was necessary to join persuasion with authority;"[2] "and, indeed, seems to have united in his own person a greater number of qualifications than fall to the generality of mankind."[3] Of course, the first thing to be done was to house the ships entirely over, to bank them up with snow, to remove all the heavy stores and timber on shore, so that the men might have the decks clear for exercise, and to provide means for keeping them dry and warm, as the thermometer had now fallen below zero. The next consideration was the distribution of the provisions and fuel; and the regulations on this head were admirable. Hunting and exploring parties were also formed; but, perhaps, the most happy idea for dispelling gloom among the men was the getting up of a theatre, which was opened with the play of "*Miss in her Teens*," the same day that the sun sank below

[2] Murray's "Historical Account of North American Discoveries," v. ii, p. 175.

[3] Review of Voyage in "Quarterly," 1821, p. 190.

the horizon (5th November) not to rise again for three tedious months. In this their excellent commander himself took part, "considering," as he says, "that an example of cheerfulness, by giving a direct countenance to everything that could contribute to it, was not the least essential part of my duty, under the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed." These representations, which were repeated every fortnight as long as darkness lasted, as may be conceived were received by the men with the most rapturous applause.

But though these entertainments, and other duties, employed a great portion of the time of his officers, Captain Parry devised a more rational amusement for them in the shape of a weekly newspaper, of which Captain Sabine, the eminent observer, undertook to be the editor, and which was called the *North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle.* Although this was, perhaps, the first time that such a journal had been set on foot in a ship of war, Captain Parry was too well acquainted with the excellent disposition of his officers, to apprehend any unpleasant consequences from such a measure. Another admirable expedient, which may be mentioned, was the establishment of a school among the men.

Thus occupied, day after day passed away, and the old year closed with tolerably mild weather; but the month of January was miserably cold, the thermometer never reaching above zero, and generally standing thirty or forty degrees below it. The first case of scurvy was reported on the 2nd January, but was cured within ten days after by a plentiful use of antiscorbutics.

On the 3rd February, owing to the refractive power of the atmosphere, the upper limb of the sun was seen from the Hecla's main-top (a height of fifty-one feet above the level of the sea), and on the 7th the full orb

appeared above the horizon, after an absence of eighty-four dreary days. But his weak rays had but little effect on their adamantine prison for some months after, and on the 16th the greatest degree of cold was experienced, the thermometer having descended to —55°; a temperature which sorely tested those of the officers who had undertaken to appear in female apparel, on the boards of the "North Georgian theatre," the same evening.

The first appearance of anything like mild weather was in the month of March, when preparations were made to free the ships, and an enormous quantity of ice which lined their sides, the produce of the mens' breath and the steam from their food, was scraped off. On the 16th the theatre was closed, with an appropriate address, as they had now less time for amusement.

On the 30th April a rapid change took place in the temperature, which soon brought them welcome visitors, in the shape of bird and quadruped, the tracks of which became daily more numerous in their annual migrations to the northward, and the hunting excursions were resumed with great success. But the effects of the increased heat on the ice was very slow, and while impatiently awaiting its dissolution Parry, provided with three weeks' provisions, undertook a journey across Melville Island, which he performed successfully, though the travelling through the soft snow was often very laborious. The soil in most places was barren, with occasionally pieces of coal embedded in sandstone; but on the *western* coast vegetation was found to be more abundant, and game more plentiful. On the northern shore, after boring through ice fourteen feet four inches in thickness, they tasted the water, which was "not very salt," though sufficiently so to convince them that it was the sea.

In the middle of July, the thermometer reached its

highest point in Melville Island, viz. 60°; but it was the 1st August before the ships were released from their long imprisonment.

On the 15th they had again advanced to the south-west extreme of the island, and were again met by the same insuperable obstacle which had before barred their progress, and on ascending the high and precipitous point of the island, as far as the eye could reach, there was the same hopeless prospect, which gave rise to the suspicion that some barrier existed beyond it, which would not allow the ice to drift to the westward.

It was, in consequence, determined to search for a passage farther to the southward, and the ships therefore put about, in the longitude of 113° 48′ 29″, after sighting a high and bold coast to the west, to which the name of Sir Joseph Banks was given. But their efforts were altogether fruitless, and, after consulting his officers, Captain Parry decided to abandon the enterprise, and accordingly bore up for England, examining carefully the south shore of Barrow's Strait, as he passed along, and calling in at the river Clyde, on the western shore of Baffin's Bay, where he fell in with a tribe of Esquimaux, whose appearance and conduct formed an extraordinary and agreeable contrast to those of the generality of that race.

After a stormy passage the ships arrived safely at home, where, as may be expected, their appearance was hailed with the greatest admiration; indeed, it must have been with no ordinary feelings of pride that Captain Parry again trod his native shores;—he had sailed upwards of 30° of west longitude beyond any former navigator, and had set at rest the contested question of a Polar ocean;—he had greatly aided the sister sciences by the valuable observations obtained by his several officers, most of whom have since risen to great eminence in their profession;—he had brought

back his ships in nearly as perfect a condition as when they left the docks; and every man of his crew (with the exception of one, who carried out with him an incurable disease) in as high and robust health as when they quitted England; while he had shown that his own merits were of the very highest order.

No greater compliment can be paid to Sir Edward Parry, for his conduct in this expedition, than by quoting the words of Sir John Barrow,[4] who says—"We are proud, and justly proud, of the name of Cook; but we venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, and without meaning to derogate one tittle from the merits of that renowned navigator, that in no part of his career of discovery had he occasion to call into action all those personal exertions and mental energies, which were perpetually demanded in, and essential to the safety of, the late expedition."

[4] Review of Voyage in "Quarterly," 1821, p. 214

CHAPTER XVI.

Franklin's Overland Expedition, accompanied by Richardson, Hood, Back, and Hepburn—Attempt, but fail, to reach the Copper-mine River—Construction of Winter Residence—Laying-up Provisions—Influx of Indian Visitors; consequent insufficiency of Food—Back's adventurous Journey in quest of Supplies—His success and return—Pursuance of Journey—Hardships and Dangers—Murder of Hood by Michel the Iroquois—Retribution—Exhaustion and Starvation—Ultimate Succour through the energy of Back—Return to England.

WHILE Parry was engaged in the above arduous attempt at exploring a passage through Sir James Lancaster's Sound, a land expedition was determined on by the Admiralty Board, with a view to define the limits and trending of the northern coast of the American continent, which had been visited at the mouths of two great rivers by Hearne and Mackenzie, from whose narratives the conclusion was naturally drawn, that it was washed by a great Polar Sea. It was also thought in the event of Captains Parry and Liddon reaching the mainland at a point anywhere near the mouth of the river Coppermine, they might stand greatly in need of advice and assistance.

Lieutenant Franklin, who had already given promise of talents of the highest order while in command of the Trent in Captain Buchan's voyage, was selected to carry out this dangerous service, accompanied by Dr. (now Sir John) Richardson, two admiralty midshipmen, Mr. Robert Hood aud Mr. George Back,

and an English seaman named John Hepburn, to whose faithful and untiring zeal they subsequently owed their lives.

This little band sailed from England on the 23rd of May 1819, in the Hudson's Bay Company's ship Prince of Wales, and after a narrow escape from shipwreck on the dreaded shores of Resolution Island, arrived in safety at the York Factory Station, on the 30th of August; but they were unable to set out on their journey till the 9th of September. On the 22nd of October, they arrived at Cumberland House, on Pine Island Lake, after having travelled by water a distance of nearly seven hundred miles, and surmounted all the usual difficulties in the shape of rock, rapid, and portage.

Late as the season was, Franklin determined, with his accustomed energy, to push on to Carlton House, on the Athabasca Lake; and accordingly, taking leave of Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, he set out on the 18th January, 1820, accompanied by Mr. Back and the faithful Hepburn; and after a journey of eight hundred and fifty miles, with the thermometer 40° and sometimes 50° below zero, arrived at Fort Chipewyan on the 20th March.

Here they were joined early in July by Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, and on the 18th of that month the whole party, with an addition of sixteen or eighteen Canadian *voyageurs*, embarked on their voyage, but, notwithstanding, the greatest efforts were made to reach winter quarters at the mouth of the Coppermine, they were compelled to halt on the banks of a river in lat. 64° 28′ N., long. 113° 6′ W., five hundred and fifty miles from Fort Chipewyan, where they commenced building a hut and laying in a good stock of provisions.

From the herds of rein-deer which covered the surrounding country, about a hundred and eighty fell

victims to the skill of the hunter, and the flesh, after being partially dried, was kneaded up with fat into a paste, well known in North America by the name of *pemmican*. But this stock was soon found to be insufficient to supply the wants of the numbers of Indians, who crowded to the station when the winter had fairly set in; and accordingly, Mr. Back, with his usual zeal, volunteered to conduct a party back to Fort Providence, and if necessary to Chipewyan, to obtain further supplies.

This journey, one of the most perilous on record, was successfully performed, though at the cost of a great deal of suffering to Back and his party. The misery of travelling over a distance of one thousand one hundred and four miles, in snow shoes "can be but faintly imagined by a person who thinks upon the inconvenience of marching with a weight of between two and three pounds constantly attached to galled feet and swelled ankles," which mark his weary track with blood; well indeed may Sir John Franklin say "I had every reason to be much pleased with his (Back's) conduct on this arduous undertaking."

These supplies arrived on the 15th January, 1821. In June the first party started on their voyage down the Coppermine, and on the 14th, Franklin and the remainder left Fort Enterprise, "a name that, in reference to future events, might, with great and deplorable propriety, be changed to that of the 'House of Misery, Lamentation, and Woe'." Before leaving, however, Akaitcho, a chief of the Copper Indians, and Mr. Wentzel, a clerk of the North-West Company and a companion of Back in his journey, made a promise that a supply of provisions should be deposited there previous to September.

On the 1st July they embarked on the Coppermine, and, after a tedious and hazardous voyage, on the 18th arrived at the mouth of the river, nine

miles from the "Bloody Fall" of Hearne, and three hundred and thirty miles from Fort Enterprise. On the 21st they all embarked in their two crazy bark canoes, on an undertaking on which few but English sailors would have had the hardihood to venture.

Fifteen of the party had never seen salt-water before in their lives, and their delight on first viewing it speedily gave way to sensations of fear and despondency; more particularly as they had but fifteen days provisions, and a very remote chance of relief from the Esquimaux.

For the first four days their progress was due east, along a coast which was free from ice, and at first well covered with vegetation. Numerous rocky and barren islands, with high cliffs, were seen to the north, as well as that peculiar phenomenon termed ice-blink, which indicates the presence of large masses of ice. Little or no tide was observed, but the indications of an eastern current were found in the deposit of quantities of drift wood, chiefly of the poplar, on the western shores of all the projecting headlands.

On the 25th, during a dense fog, they doubled a bold cape, to which the name of Barrow was given. The coast was here composed of granite cliffs, fourteen or fifteen hundred feet high, on which no landing could be affected with any degree of safety, and which presented a most dreary aspect to their anxious eyes. At a great risk to their slender canoes, from the ice which encompassed Cape Barrow, they made their way unto Detention Harbour, so named from being unable to get out for some days after their entrance. On the 29th the progress was resumed, favored by a land breeze, and on the 30th, after rounding Cape Kater, they entered a deep gulf to which the name of Arctic Sound was given; the name of Hood was bestowed on a river at the bottom

of the sound. Bathurst's Inlet was next examined, and proved to be more than seventy miles in depth.

Proceeding to track the eastern shore of Coronation Gulf, on the 10th August they appeared to have again reached the open sea, when, to their extreme dismay, they found themselves in the very centre of a large bay, to which the name of Lord Melville was given. By the time they had again resumed their northern course, the condition of the expedition demanded Franklin's most serious attention. It was but too evident that valuable time had been unavoidably lost in examining the shores of the great gulf in which they now were; and although from the chart the position of Point Turnagain, the extreme limit of the expedition, appears only six degrees and a half from the mouth of the Coppermine, yet their canoe voyage had extended over six hundred and fifty geographical miles. The canoes were terribly shattered; the provisions could only hold out for a few days, and the supplies derived from the hunter's rifle were now becoming fearfully precarious. It was therefore determined to abandon the discovery at once, and return to Fort Enterprise by the way of Hood's River, where the game appeared more plentiful, in preference to the old route by the Mackenzie, a resolution which was joyfully received by the Canadian *voyageurs*, who were delighted at the thoughts of exchanging their scanty meal of a handful of pemmican for their usual allowance, at the Company's forts, of *eight* pounds of meat a day. Alas! they little anticipated the danger and privations still in store for them.

A few miles up Hood's River, they were stopped by a grand cataract of the whole river tumbling over a ledge of rocks, and forming the two magnificent falls named after the distinguished philanthropist, Wilberforce. The river here runs in a chasm, the

walls of which are upwards of two hundred feet in height, and in some places only a few yards in width. Here they were detained until the 1st September, in constructing two smaller canoes, prior to commencing their land journey to Point Lake, which was only a hundred and forty-nine miles from them, in a direct line. Twelve miles on their journey they were surprised by a snow-storm, which obliged them to encamp, and having no means of obtaining either food or fuel, they were forced to remain two days huddled together under their blankets, with the temperature at 20°.

On the 7th they again set forward, but the *voyageurs* now grumbled at having to carry two canoes, and at length, partly through carelessness, and partly through accident, one was wholly destroyed by a fall, and the other rendered nearly useless, and subsequently abandoned by her carriers. They threw away their fishing-lines, and, indeed, acted throughout with such imprudence and folly, that, had their safety depended on their own exertions, not a man would have been saved.

Three miserable weeks thus passed away, during which time they obtained from the resources of the country only five days' provision, their sole supply for the rest of the time being a kind of lichen or moss, called by the Canadians *tripe de roche*, or rock-tripe, without which they must undoubtedly have perished of actual starvation.

On the 26th September, after having a thousand times regretted the loss of their canoes, the party arrived on the banks of the Coppermine, where a few small deer were killed; but here the madness of those who had abandoned the canoe became more fully apparent: eight whole days (mostly of fine weather) were consumed in devising means to cross a stream a hundred and thirty yards wide. Attempt

after attempt was made to get a raft of willows across, but they all failed, on account of the greenness of the wood and the want of paddles.

In this desperate state of affairs, with the certainty of starvation staring them in the face if they were not successful in crossing the river, Dr. Richardson nobly volunteered to swim across with a line attached to his body. He had nearly succeeded in reaching the opposite shore, when the strong deep current, which was piercingly cold, proved too much for his debilitated frame, made weaker by long fasting, and to their inexpressible anguish, he sank. They instantly hauled on the line, and dragged him ashore nearly lifeless, when at sight of his emaciated limbs, the Canadians simultaneously exclaimed, "*Ah! que nous sommes maigres*," so greatly had he been reduced.

Soon after, Back, who had been despatched to examine the shores of the lake, returned without having been able to discover any place where it was possible to cross. Their distresses now every hour became greater; the hunters were unable to kill anything, but brought home the back-bone and antlers of a deer, which was esteemed a prize, although the marrow was so putrid and acrid as to excoriate the lips; their sufferings had reduced them to perfect shadows; Franklin was so weak as to be unable to walk a distance of three quarters of a mile after three hours' labour;—Richardson, Back, and Hood were equally helpless; the Canadians sullen and desponding; the only one capable of exertion was Hepburn, whose noble conduct and indefatigable zeal throughout calls for the highest admiration.

At length, by God's blessing, they were enabled to cross the river, by means of a patched-up canoe formed of willows, and covered with painted canvass. Back was immediately sent forward with three men to Fort Enterprise, which was distant only forty miles.

On the 5th October the remainder moved forward, but soon had to divide into two parties, as it was found utterly impossible to get some of them to proceed ;—Dr. Richardson, Mr. Hood, and Hepburn accordingly volunteered to remain at the first convenient spot, with those who were too weak to travel; while Captain Franklin, and the remainder thus relieved of considerable burthens were to push on to the Fort, from which they were distant only four and twenty miles; and so this affecting parting took place, after prayers and thanksgivings to the Great Master of Life.

The first party, now consisting of nine persons, descended into a more level country, but the snow lay so deep that after a march of only four miles and a half, they were compelled to camp. Next day Belanger, and Michel an Iroquois, begged permission to be allowed to return to Dr. Richardson; which was granted; a third, Perrault, a short time after joined them, and a fourth named Fontano, an Italian, who was much beloved by all, gave in two miles further on, and was also allowed to return. Of these four, but one,—the fiend Michel the Iroquois,—ever reached the little camp.

Captain Franklin had now with him, Adam, Peltier, Benoit, Samandré, and Augustus the faithful interpreter, who had pressed forward by himself. On the evening of the 11th they came in sight of the ardently wished-for Fort, having tasted nothing for five days but a little *tripe de roche* and the shreds of their shoes. Their horror and dismay may be conceived, when not a vestige of any living creature was to be observed.

When their agonized feelings had in some measure obtained relief in tears, a note was found from Mr. Back, stating that he had been there two days previously and had again set out on his search for the

Indians, but from the weakness of his party he was afraid he should not be able to reach Fort Providence. The sufferings of this gallant young officer on this journey were very great, but his exertions have been gratefully recognised. Four days afterwards a messenger arrived from him to say that his search had been unsuccessful.

Eighteen days passed by; the snow lying deeper than in the previous December, and the temperature from 15° to 20° below zero: a miserable existence was sustained on several old deer-skins, and the bones carefully collected from the ashes; yet not one single murmur do we find the gallant chief uttering; not once did he give way to despair. He even made an attempt to set out in search of assistance, but returned the following day, having broken his snow shoes, leaving Augustus and Benoit to continue the journey.

On the evening of the 29th October, two gaunt figures entered Fort Enterprize, and were recognised by the emaciated circle around the fire as Dr. Richardson and Hepburn.

Such a meeting defies the powers of description; it was a compound of both joy and sorrow, for the absence of poor Hood and the Canadians was instantly seen: each was shocked by the appearance of the other, and the doctor particularly requested that they would undeavour to make their sepulchral voices more cheerful; "not aware," says Franklin, "that his own partook of the same key."

But perhaps the severest trial still awaited them in the Doctor's narrative. For the first two days after the separation, they had nothing whatever to eat; on the third, Michel, the only survivor of the four who had set out on their return to the camp, came in with a large hare and a partridge. He was looked on as their guardian angel, and willing offers of their scanty

wardrobe were made him, when he complained of the cold.

On the 11th, after another long fast, the Iroquois who appeared to be gaining strength as his companions became weaker, brought them a piece of flesh which he said was part of a wolf; a tale which was implicitly received, but which they had afterwards reason to believe was a portion of the bodies of Belanger or Perrault. The conduct of this man was calculated to awaken their most serious suspicions; he became sullen and morose; remained away all day without any reason; would neither hunt nor cut wood; refused to sleep in the tent, and regretted he had ever quitted Franklin's party, to whom he threatened to return.

On the morning of Sunday, the 20th October after reading prayers, Michel was urged to go hunting, that he might if possible leave them some provision before he set out on his journey to Fort Enterprize, which he was to commence the next day. They then went about various occupations, Hepburn cutting wood, and Dr. Richardson gathering the *tripe de roche*. Poor Mr. Hood and Michel were left at the fire in earnest conversation, when suddenly the Doctor was alarmed by the report of a gun, and Hepburn calling loudly to him.

When he arrived at the tent, he found poor Hood lying lifeless, with the book he had been reading open before him, a ball having passed through his head. At first he was horror stricken with the idea that, in a fit of despondency, he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge; but the conduct of the Iroquois soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed when, upon examination, the shot was found to have entered at the back of the head; and the long gun supplied to the Indians could not have been placed in the position to inflict such a wound except by a second person.

Michel alleged that he knew nothing of it, and asked them menacingly if they suspected him of so foul a deed, though they had not for an instant even hinted at such a suspicion.

As the death of this excellent young officer removed the only bar to their journey, Dr. Richardson determined at once to set out for the fort; and had there been any doubt of the guilt of Michel, his conduct would now at once have removed it. He never suffered his companions to be alone together for a moment; was constantly asking them if they suspected him of the murder; and, indeed, it became but too evident that he would take the first opportunity to destroy them, to remove all evidences of his guilt. He relaxed this caution however to gather some *tripe de roche,* and the doctor and Hepburn hurriedly took advantage of the occasion to communicate their mutual suspicions, and Hepburn was so convinced that their safety depended on his death, that he offered to be the instrument of it; but Dr. Richardson, now thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, determined to take the whole responsibility on himself, and accordingly, when Michel came up with them, he shot him through the head with a pistol. Michel had gathered no *tripe de roche;* he had halted to put his gun in order, no doubt with the intention of destroying them, while engaged in encamping, that same evening.

Six days did Dr. Richardson and Hepburn drag on their weary limbs, existing on lichens and the skin cloak of poor Hood. On the evening of the 6th they came in sight of the fort, and with sensations not to be described, beheld smoke issuing from one of the chimnies; but alas! how were their joyful anticipations blasted, when they entered the desolate building and beheld the filth and wretchedness of their poor companions; their own misery had stolen upon

them by degrees, and they had become accustomed to the contemplation of each other's emaciated figures, but the ghastly countenances, dilated eyeballs, and sepulchral voices of Franklin and his party, (two of whom died shortly after,) were more than they could at first bear.

The condition of the whole party now daily became worse; the hardness of the floor produced sores: after suffering acute pains of hunger all day, at night they were sated in dreams with every luxury. Their tempers grew so fretful, that the kindest expressions were received pettishly, and Captain Franklin himself admits that he became excessively peevish. Each thought the other weaker in intellect than himself, and more in need of advice and assistance.

On the 7th November, the long and ardently wished for relief, came by the hands of three Indians, sent forward by Mr. Back, and by these men they were tended with the greatest care and solicitude, and conveyed to Moose-Deer Island where they met that gallent young officer, to whose exertions they unquestionably owed their lives. From this spot their progress homeward was comfortable and easy, and thus terminated a journey, by land and water, of five thousand five hundred and fifty miles, during which, a degree of misery had been suffered, hardly to be paralleled in any journey, in any quarter of the globe, and which had been endured with the most unflinching courage and christian resignation.

CHAPTER XVII.

RUSSIAN ASIATIC DISCOVERIES.

THE whole of the immense extent of country from the White Sea to Behring's Straits, embracing one hundred and forty-five degrees of longitude, has been discovered, surveyed, and described by Russians, who, accustomed to the severity of the climate and to the privations inseparable from it, have conquered all those difficulties and impediments which arrested others. But they are far too numerous to allow of the detail in the present work, which their importance so well deserves, and we have therefore embodied in a tabular form those which are of the greatest interest in a geographical point of view, while the reader who desires more information, will find his every wish gratified in the appendix to Admiral Von Wrangell's narrative of his expedition to the Polar Sea in the years 1820-1-2-3.[2]

[2] Madden; second edition, 1844, edited by Colonel Sabine.

DATE.	BY WHOM UNDERTAKEN.	STARTED FROM.	OBJECT AND EXTENT OF DISCOVERY.
1598	Fedor Dyakow	Tobolsk	Sent to the Ienissei to demand tribute from the Samoïedes.
1610	The Cossacks	Turuchansk	Descended the Ienissei to its mouth.
1610	Merchants and Hunters	„	Descended the Ienissei. Entered the Polar Ocean, and reached the Pässida.
1630	The Cossacks	Ieniseisk	Discovered the Lena.
1636–40	Jellessei Busa	„	Sent to levy tribute, and discovered the Olekma, the Iana, and the Tshéndoma.
1638	Ivanow or Postnik	„	Discovered the Indigirka, and on its banks left a party of Cossacks, who probably discovered the Alaseia.
1644*	Michael Staduchin	Uncertain	Formed a winter establishment about 100 wersts from the mouth of the Kolyma.
1646	Issai Ignatiew	The Kolyma	Sailed eastward, probably as far as Tchaun Bay.
1647	Fedot Alexiew	„	Sailed from the Kolyma, for the purpose of reaching the Anadyr, but returned unsuccessful.
1647–9	Michael Staduchin	Iakutsk	Sailed eastward of Kolyma, for the purpose of reaching the Pogytsha, but was unsuccessful, though he probably penetrated beyond Cape Chelagskoi.
1649	Fedot Alexiew, Semen Deshnew, Gerasim Ankudinow	The Kolyma	Discovered the Svätoi Noss, Great Tchukotsky Noss, and, passing Tchaun Bay, the Island of Koliutchin, the River Anadyr, and eventually reached Behring's Straits; discovered that the Pogytsha was the same river as the Anadyr. Alexiew and Ankudinow were wrecked, and all miserably perished, either from disease or hostile attacks, without effecting any further discovery.
1650	Semen Motóra	Kolymsk	Met Deshnew and his companions on the banks of the Anadyr.
1650	Michael Staduchin	„	Followed the preceding expedition, and reached the Anadyr, after a journey of seven weeks. Staduchin subsequently reached the Penchena, where he perished.
1651	Semen Deshnew	. .	Continuing the expedition he had commenced with Semen Motóra, he explored the mouth of the Anadyr, and returned to his winter settlement.
1652	Rebrow	Iakutsk	Ordered to make enquiries respecting an island supposed to exist at the mouth of the Kolyma, but did not ascertain anything.

Wrangell mentions this expedition as being doubtful.

DATE.	BY WHOM UNDERTAKEN.	STARTED FROM.	OBJECT AND EXTENT OF DISCOVERY.
1711	Wagin and Permäkow .	Iakutsk . .	Penetrated, it is supposed, as far as Liakhow Island ; and, after suffering many hardships, the leaders were murdered by their company.
1712	Wassily Staduchin .	Iakutsk . .	Sailed eastward from the Kolyma as far as Svätoi Noss.
1714	Alexis Markow . .	Iana . .	Performed long journeys, but without meeting any success.
1714	Gregory Krugläkow .	Kolyma . .	
1724	Fedot Amossow . .	Kolymsk . .	Meeting with great quantities of drift ice, he returned, without effecting any discovery.
1724	Fedot Amossow . .	Kolymsk . .	Set out later in the year, but again returned unsuccessful.
1724	Fedot Amossow . .	Kolymsk . .	Partially explored Krestowoi, one of the Bear Isles, the existence of which had been asserted by Ivan Wilegin, a fur-hunter.
1734	Pawlow and Muraview	Archangel .	Were sent eastward, intending to reach the Obi ; they were, however, unable to penetrate much beyond the Petchora.
1736	Skuratow, Suchotin, & Malygin . .	Petchora . .	Reinforced the preceding expedition, and, on the 11th September, 1737, reached the mouth of the River Obi.
1734	Owzyn . . .	Obi . .	Explored the Obi, and proceeded northwards ; but on the 18th July, 1735, returned, in consequence of sickness breaking out.
1736	Owzyn and Koschelew.	Tobolsk . .	Sailed eastward from the Gulf of Obi to the Ienissei, in ascending which they were stopped by the ice 100 wersts below Turuchansk, on 1st October, 1737, when both commanders were recalled.
1738	Minin . . .	Ienissei . .	Took command of the above expedition, to endeavour to double Cape Taimura, but made no new discovery, failing in the main object of the enterprize.
1739	Minin . . .	Ienissei . .	Surveyed the river to its mouth.
1740	Sterlägow . . .	Ienissei . .	Explored the coast from the Ienissei to the North-east Islands, in sledges, when he returned.
1740	Minin . . .	Ienissei . .	Sailed north from the mouth of the river ; passed the mouth of the Pässina ; ran north to 75° 15′ lat. ; returned to the Ienissei, and surveyed it as far as Ianisseisk.

DATE.	BY WHOM UNDERTAKEN.	STARTED FROM.	OBJECT AND EXTENT OF DISCOVERY.
1735	Prontchichtchew . .	Lena . .	Ordered to sail westward to the Ienissei: after great hardship, and the death of their commander, they reached the Bay of Chotanga; when the expedition, under the command of the mate, Tcheliuiskin, returned.
1739	Laptew . . .	Iakutsk . .	Resuming the preceding undertaking, he reached Cape St. Faddei, and sent a land expedition to the Taimura, who surveyed it to its mouth. In returning, the vessel was wrecked, and they, after incredible hardships, reached the Taimura, which they explored.
1739	Tcheliuiskin . .	Pässina . .	Sailed eastward, and fell in with the survivors of Laptew's party, with whom they continued their explorations, but made no discoveries of importance.
1735	Lassinius . . .	Iakutsk . .	Only reached the River Chariulach, where they wintered, and where nearly all the party perished; the survivors, seven in number, returning to Iakutsk.
1736	Laptew . . .	Iakutsk . .	Sailed eastward until the 14th August, when the ice compelled him to return.
1739	Laptew . . .	Lena . .	Reached the Russian station on the Indigirka, whence he explored the coast from the Kolyma to the Chroma. Discovered (in 1740) one of the Bear Islands; eventually returning to Kolymsk in August 1741.
1741	Laptew . . .	Kolymsk . .	Crossed overland to the Anadyr, and descended it with two boats.
1761	Schalarov . . .	Iana . .	Reached the Kolyma, where he wintered; continuing his exploration, discovered Sand Cape, and surveyed Tchaun Bay; then returning to the Kolyma again to winter. Before he could resume his voyage, his crew left him, and he returned to the Lena.
1764	Schalarov . . .	Moscow . .	Undertook a Voyage to Cape Chelagskoi, in which he perished.
1759 or 60	Eterikan . . .	Ustiansk . .	Discovered the Liakhow Islands.
1763	Andrejew . . .	Kolymsk .	Discovered and explored the Bear Islands, and in 1764 returned. It is extremely doubtful if he effected any further discoveries.
1767	Leontiew, Lyssow, and Pushkarew .	Iakutsk . .	Were sent out secretly to verify some reports of land discovered by Andrejew, near the Bear Islands, which latter they geometrically surveyed.

DATE.	BY WHOM UNDERTAKEN.	STARTED FROM.	OBJECT AND EXTENT OF DISCOVERY.
1770	Liakhow . . .	. . .	Explored the Liakhow Islands, where he obtained exclusive permission to dig for mammoth bones.
1775	Chwoinow . . .	Iakutsk . .	Made a regular survey of the Liakhow Islands.
1787	Billings . . .	Iassaschna .	Sailed, with two vessels, down the Kolyma; but being unable to double Cape Chelagskoi, determined on attempting the passage by Behring's Straits.
1791	Billings . . .	Avatsha Bay .	Pursued his voyage to Metchigme Bay, and then abandoned it for a land journey to Kolymsk, sending Gilew in a baidar to survey the coast from East Cape to Koliutchin Island, where they were to meet, whence they returned overland to the Kolyma.
1808–11	Hedenström . .	Iakutsk . .	Explored, north, as far as the Islands Stolbovoi, Kotelnoi and New Siberia; and east, as far as Cape Chelagskoi.
1811	Pschenizyn. . .	Iana . .	Visited New Siberia.
1819	Lazaref . . .	. . .	Sent to explore Nova Zembla, but was compelled by the ice to return without effecting anything.
1821	Lütké. . . .	. . .	Sent out with the same object: his voyage resulted as unfavourably as that of Lazaref.
1822	Lütké. . . .	. . .	Surveyed the Coast of Lapland, and the western Coast of Nova Zembla, verifying the account Barentsz had given, except as regarded Cape Desire, the position of which he considered erroneously laid down by him.
1823	Lütké. . . .	. . .	Again surveyed Nova Zembla, and verified the position Barentsz had assigned to Cape Desire, and examined the Matotshkin Schar which divides Nova Zembla.
1824	Lütké. . . .	. . .	Sent out for the purpose of exploring the eastern shore of Nova Zembla, and for this purpose attempted to effect a passage between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, and afterwards by Waigatz Strait, but on both occasions found the ice an insurmountable barrier.

DATE.	BY WHOM UNDERTAKEN.	STARTED FROM.	OBJECT AND EXTENT OF DISCOVERY.
1820–4	Wrangell and Anjou		This expedition, which was commanded by Lieutenant (now Baron) Von Wrangell, and Lieutenant Anjou, is, whether viewed with regard to its objects or results, by far the most important of any of the Russian north-eastern explorations. To enter minutely into detail would here be a work of supererogation; referring the reader to Colonel Sabine's translation of the gallant commander's account of the voyage, it will be sufficient to state, that they started from St. Petersburg, and explored the coast eastward from the Iakutsk, eventually doubling the formidable Cape Chelagskoi, visiting Kotelnoi and the Bear Isles, and making several journeys on the Polar ice till they were stopped by open sea; returning to St. Petersburg on the 15th August, 1824, having carried out the objects of the expedition with the greatest courage and skill, and rendered invaluable services to the cause of science.
1832	Pachtussof and Krotoff.	Archangel	They sailed together, but, separating in a fog in the White Sea, Krotoff was never more heard of. Pachtussof reached the southern shore of Nova Zembla, examining the eastern coast as far as the Sawina, and, having done this, entered the Matotshkin Shar; encountering a heavy gale, he ran for Petchora, when, his vessel being wrecked, he went back to St. Petersburg overland. He followed out his discoveries in 1834, having been again sent out by the Russian government.*

* "Bulletin de l'Academie Impériale de Sciences de St. Petersburg," and "Royal Geographical Society's Journal," v. viii., pp. 411—415.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Expedition commanded by Captains Parry and Lyon—Winter Quarters—Amusements—Esquimaux—Native Character—Iligliuk—Her Intelligence and Idea of Geography rendered Useful—Further progress—Fruitless Exertions—Second Winter—Return Home—Joyful Reception—Explorations of Mr. Scoresby while Whale Fishing—Discoveries made by Lieutenant-Colonel Sabine and Commander Clavering—Captain Parry's Third Voyage—Hecla and Fury sustain Great Damage—Abandonment of the Fury—Return Home.

THE failure of Captain Parry in the years 1819-20 to make the complete passage to Behring's Straits, was not looked upon at home as anything like a decided defeat, and it required little more than that officer's expressed opinion, that a passage would most probably be found in a lower latitude, and a connexion between Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, and Prince Regent's Inlet, to determine the government to fit out a fresh expedition to ascertain the truth or otherwise of this opinion.

On the 30th December 1820, a few months after his return from his former voyage, Captain Parry received his appointment to the Fury bomb, of three hundred and seventy-seven tons, and on the 4th January, 1821, Lieutenant George Francis Lyon, already celebrated as an African traveller, received his commission as commander of her consort, the Hecla.

On the 8th May, the Fury and Hecla, accompanied by the Nautilus transport, freighted with stores,

sailed from the Nore, and on the 2nd July came in view of the dreary coast of Resolution Island, at the entrance of Hudson's Strait, where they encountered the usual tremendous icebergs, and rapid tides and currents, among which Captain Lyon managed to carry away five hawsers and break his best bower anchor. Thus obstructed and beset, after being nineteen days drifting about seventy miles, on the 21st they made the Savage Islands, and were visited by many *Kayaks* and *Oomiaks* containing numerous families of noisy and filthy Esquimaux.

Early in August they arrived at Southampton Island, where Captain Parry became sorely perplexed as to his future course, being undecided whether to try to reach Repulse Bay by the *Frozen Strait* of Captain Middleton, about which there had been so many disputes, or to go round the southern extreme of Southampton Island, and up the Welcome. After the most anxious consideration, he came to the bold resolution of attempting the direct passage of the problematical Frozen Strait, which, if it existed, would be nearer the other route by a hundred and fifty leagues, and the result proved that Middleton had been much maligned.

On the 15th they entered a magnificent sheet of water, at the extremity of Southampton Island, to which the name of the Duke of York was given. Involved among the rocks and small islands of the straits; hampered with floating ice; in a rapid tide, which set through it from the eastward; and harrassed by foggy weather, they unconsciously entered Repulse Bay, where not a single piece of ice was seen, that could obstruct their anxious examination of its shores, and the fact of its non-connection with the Polar Sea was established for ever. The surrounding land rose from six or seven hundred to a thousand feet high; in many parts vegetation was extremely luxuriant, while

rein-deer, game, and the remains of deserted Esquimaux habitations were plentiful.

In obedience to his instructions, which directed him to explore the coast to the northward, Captain Parry left Repulse Bay, and entered upon a navigation among a perfect labyrinth of isles, rendered extremely perilous by the rapid tides, which obeying no fixed law whirled large masses of ice about, to the imminent danger of the ships, and even after having cleared which, they were driven back past Baffin's Island by a gale, on the 3rd September, to a position they had occupied on the previous 6th August.

But at length the tedious survey of the coast was commenced, and every creek and opening carefully examined, until they arrived at a very deep and winding inlet, to which the name of Captain Lyon was given, while one of its branches was named after Lieutenant Hoppner. The young ice now began to form so rapidly, that it became necessary to look out for winter quarters, which were found in a small island off the mouth of Lyon's Inlet, where the vessels were made all snug.

It may be imagined that Captain Parry's fertile mind speedily devised means for rendering the condition of his people as comfortable as possible. Theatricals and schools, on a somewhat grander scale than the North Georgian attempts, were got up for the amusement and instruction of the men, while the officers had plenty to amuse themselves in making observations, writing, sketching, and pleasant musical *réunions*. "With our time thus occupied, our comforts so abundant, and our prospect to seaward so enlivening, it would indeed have been our own faults had we felt anything but enjoyment in our present state, and the most lively hopes and expectations for the future."

On the 1st February, a great novelty presented

itself in the shape of a party of Esquimaux, whose orderly quiet behaviour formed a striking contrast to the specimens of the same race met with at the Savage Islands. The two commanders were invited, and visited the snow-houses of this amiable people, and were particularly struck with the great ingenuity displayed in the construction of the arched domes or roofs, on the origin of which so much has been said and written by the learned. The favourable impression made on the party in their first interview with these poor creatures, was not diminished during a constant intercourse of three or four months duration, and Captain Parry particularly mentions one honourable trait in their character—their honesty.

Their love of music, singing, and dancing was such, that, though ever so pinched with hunger and cold, they were always ready and eager to join in any merriment, and the mere motion of the hand, as if in the act of turning an organ, was sufficient to set them off. But there was one of them, a woman named Iligliuk, who was possessed of more than ordinary intelligence; and her son had likewise a larger amount of understanding than the generality of his countrymen. Her enquiring mind, remarkably soft voice, and great delight in singing, drawing, and needlework, speedily made her a favourite, and presents were showered upon her, until unhappily her head was turned, and it was found difficult to believe that the Iligliuk of April was the same person as the Iligliuk of February. But her superior intelligence was, perhaps, most apparent in her knowledge of geography.

It struck Captain Parry that this might be made available for his purposes, and accordingly he placed in her hand a pencil, and desired her to draw the shape of the land north of their present abode; the Esquimaux lady at once understood his meaning, and drew it accordingly, but having no idea of distance,

soon reached the other end of the table, having passed over a dozen sheets of paper. The experiment was then tried on a smaller scale, after repeatedly making her "box the compass," so as to impress on her mind something like an idea of the bearings of the coast; again the pencil was put into her hand, when, with a countenance of peculiar gravity, she traced the coast to the northward, as nearly north from Winter Island.

"The most important part still remained, and it would have amused an unconcerned looker-on to have observed the anxiety and suspense depicted on the countenances of *our* part of the group till this was accomplished; for never were the tracings of a pencil watched with more eager solicitude." Great was their surprise and joy, when Iligliuk, without taking the pencil from the paper, brought the continental coast short round to the W., and then S.S.W., to within three or four days' journey of Repulse Bay; further than this she knew nothing of the coast. This country she called *Akkoolee*, and from its highest hills, she said, that nothing was to be seen but one wide-extending sea.

They now became every day more anxious to verify Iligliuk's sketch-map, and in the latter end of June were busily employed in making preparations to depart.

On the 8th July they put to sea, after great labour in sawing a passage out of their winter berths; but soon met with a barrier in some great masses of ice brought down by a strong current from the north, which threatened repeatedly to crush and overwhelm them, and which unhung the Hecla's rudder, but by untiring perseverance, on the 13th they arrived off a fine river, with a magnificent fall, which was named after Mr. Barrow, and the banks of which were covered with rich vegetation. Amitioke, with its herds of walrusses, was next made.

On the 16th high land was seen to the north and east, and full of hope that this was the northern shore of the strait, they pushed on; but great was their disappointment, when arriving at the entrance they saw one unbroken floe of ice, extending from shore to shore. For nearly four weeks ineffectual attempts were made to get to the westward, without advancing twice as many miles.

Captain Parry, "each hour's delay adding an indescribable weight to his anxiety," therefore determined to make a land journey, and setting out on the 14th August, arrived on the 18th at a peninsula, on proceeding to the northern point of which, the strait lay immediately beneath them, running in a direction about east and west, two miles in width, apparently very deep, with a tide or current of at least two knots, setting the loose ice through it to the eastward. The strait was named by anticipation, the *Strait of the Fury and Hecla*, and an attempt was made on their return to the ships to push through some of the cracks, which were now making their appearance in the great floe, but nothing of any moment was achieved.

A party sent, under Lieutenant Reid and Mr. Bushnan, to explore the northern shore of the strait, on the second day of their journey, sixty miles west of the entrance, reached the latitude of 70° 00′ 05″, from which point they saw the opposite shore trend to the southward, and a boundless ocean beyond, shut up by ice.

Winter quarters had again to be sought, and were found at Igloolik, where the ships were safely established, after cutting a canal, 4,343 feet long, through ice twelve or fourteen inches thick. Their time was employed much the same as during the previous winter, while they had also communication with another tribe of Esquimaux.

It was not until the 8th August, after sawing

through a mile of ice, that they were again afloat, when Captain Parry began to reflect on his future plans. He had formed a resolution to take a twelvemonth's stores from the Hecla, and sending that ship home, to remain out in the Fury to the end of the year 1825; but on once more getting afloat, the *probable* evil, likely to arise from such a course, seemed far to outweigh the *possible* good, and on requesting the opinions of his doctors as to the health of his officers and crew, their opinion was so decisive, that, taking many other weighty matters into consideration, it was determined to return home. Assisted by the rapid southerly drift, the ships made a quick passage, and on the 10th October arrived at Lerwick, where the greatest joy was expressed at their return; the bells were rung, the houses were illuminated, and the people flocked from all parts of the country to offer their congratulations, as if each individual had a brother or a son amongst the crew. On the 16th November Captains Parry and Lyon paid off their gallant crews, among whom the greatest cordiality and good feeling had existed, notwithstanding their many severe trials. One fact speaks volumes for their excellent commander—he had but to hoist his pennant to bring his old officers and men round him again; and, indeed, it would have been strange had it been otherwise, for although the navy of England has produced some of the noblest men that ever existed, it has never nurtured one who had the interest of his men more at heart, or who better understood the peculiar character and feelings of sailors, and laboured more to gratify their wishes, than Captain Sir Edward Parry.

Leaving, for awhile, Captain Parry and his gallant followers, to rest for a few months after their hazardous voyage, we must now glance at some important discoveries made in the Polar Seas by Mr. William

(now the Reverend Doctor) Scoresby, a gentleman of great scientific attainments, who has for many years given up the rough and dangerous life of a whaler, and risen high in his present profession. Dr. Scoresby passed his early youth in a Greenland ship, commanded by his father, and had frequent opportunities of observing the state of the ice at various periods. In the year 1806, he reached a higher northern latitude than any former navigator.[1] In his search for whales, his father in this year attained, without obstruction, the latitude of 81° 30′, when he had an open sea before him; but a deviation from the path of duty, however important to the interests of science, would have been blameable even under

[1] The Hon. Daines Barrington, in several papers read before the Royal Society, which were published in 1775-6, and again in 1818 as a volume, asserted the possibility of approaching the North Pole, and adduced the testimony of a number of Dutch and other Navigators, who alleged that they had, in their whaling adventures, reached the very high latitudes of 89° and 89° 30′. The subjoined is a tabular view of these statements:—

Captain John Reed	80° 45′
Captain Thos. Robinson (for three weeks together)	81° —
Captain John Philips	81° odd min.
James Hutton, Jonathan Wheatley, Thomas Robinson, John Clarke (four instances)	81° 30′
Captains Cheyne and Thew (two instances)	82° —
Cluny and David Boyd (two instances)	82° odd min.
Mr. George Ware	82° 15′
Mr. John Adams and Mr. James Montgomery (two instances)	83° —
Mr James Watt, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy	83° 30′
Five ships in company with Hans Derrick	86° —
Captain Johnson and Dr. Ballie (two instances; to which, perhaps, may be added, Captain Monson, as a third)	88° —
Relation of two Dutch masters to Captain Goulden	89° —
Dutch relation to Mr. Grey	89° 30′

In all these instances Daines Barrington has taken credit for nearly a degree to the northward of their several situations, because the *blink*, or *glare* of the *packed ice*, is to be distinguished at this distance when the weather is tolerably fair.

these favourable circumstances, and he was reluctantly obliged to return.

His most important discoveries, however, were made in 1822, when he was in command of the whaler, Baffin. The eightieth parallel had been so well "*fished*," and had become so unproductive, that Mr. Scoresby determined to try the eastern coast of Greenland, and on the 8th of June, in latitude 74° 6′, discovered a bold rugged coast, which he supposed to be the "Hold with Hope" of Hudson, as the latitude given by the old navigator was tolerably correct, but the longitude differed from the best charts from 7° to 10°.

On the 19th July, after capturing several whales, the coast was again made, composed of high bold cliffs, rising almost perpendicularly from the beach to the height of three or four thousand feet, and terminating in lofty peaks like stacks of chimneys. Steering S. S. W. along this coast, names were given to various points, after men distinguished in literature, science, and art, until he arrived at a large opening, in 70°, to which he gave the name of his father, and on emerging from which, he still continued his course to the southward, but finding no appearance of whales, was forced again to steer to the north. In a few days he once more made the land, and named points after Werner the geologist, Sir Humphry Davy, Captain Parry, &c.; but, disappointed in not meeting with whales, he was obliged to abandon further exploration of a coast he may thus be said to have discovered for a range of four hundred miles, as it had been formerly known only by vague rumours.

To the important discoveries of Scoresby, some additions were made next year (1823), by Commander Clavering and Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel) Sabine, R.A., in the Griper. While the latter was employed

in making scientific observations in Spitzbergen, Commander Clavering pushed into the northern seas, and succeded in reaching the latitude of 80° 20′. Returning and taking Captain Sabine on board, he set sail for the eastern coast of Greenland, of which he came in view on the 5th August. "Never was there a more desolate spot seen; Spitzbergen was, on the whole, a paradise to it." Proceeding along the coast to the north, they reached the latitude of 75° 12′, and from the heights of an island named after the Shannon, (in which ship Captain Clavering served during her action with the Chesapeake,) the same bold high land was seen, still stretching as far as the 76th degree of latitude. The Griper then returned to the southward, landing Captain Sabine at various points, in order to enable him to carry out his series of valuable observations, but nothing else of any importance occurred during the remainder of the voyage.

No further efforts were made to explore the depths of the Polar Sea, until the year 1827, when Captain Parry made his celebrated attempt to reach the pole in boats; but that excellent officer was again sent out by the government to the north-west in 1824, with the view of exploring the bottom of Prince Regent's Inlet, which was supposed to hold out flattering hopes of a passage into the Great Polar Basin, and acting in concert with two land expeditions under Captains Lyon and Franklin, and one by sea under Captain Beechey.

The two ships of which the expedition was composed, were the Hecla and Fury, the latter now commissioned by Commander Hoppner; they sailed from the Nore on the 19th May, and were obliged to take up their first winter's quarters at Port Bowen, in Regent's Inlet, owing to the great loss of time incurred in crossing Baffin's Bay. It is needless to

recapitulate the details of the manner in which it passed away. Captain Parry, indeed, observes, that it is hard to conceive any one thing more like another than two winters passed in the higher latitudes of the Polar regions: when once the earth is covered, all is dreary, monotonous whiteness,—not merely for days or weeks, but for more than half-a-year together. Whichever way the eye is turned, it meets a picture calculated to impress upon the mind an idea of inanimate stillness—of that motionless torpor with which the feelings have nothing congenial; of anything, in short, but life. The presence of man seems an intrusion on the dreary solitude of this wintry desert, which even its native animals have for a while forsaken.

Every expedient for rendering cheerful this solitary life which former experience had taught was tried, and with admirable effect. Land journeys were made to the north, under the command of Lieut. J. C. Ross, and to the south, under Lieut. Sherer. The first brought the gratifying intelligence of open water in Barrow's Bay; and the last returned, after surveying the coast as far down as $72\frac{1}{4}^{0}$, when, from want of provisions he was obliged to retrace his way, or otherwise he might have continued his progress down to the Strait of the Fury and Hecla.

They got their first peep at the sun from the top of a high hill on the 2nd February, but it was the 22nd before he was visible at the ships, after an absence of a hundred and twenty-one days.

On the 20th July, they warped out of Port Bowen and stood towards the western shore of the Inlet; the labours of a bad summer and the tedium of a long winter forgotten in a moment, now that they were on unexplored ground. They proceeded southerly, close to the western shore, until the 28th, when they became beset, and suffered great peril till the 1st August,

when they were in latitude 72° 42′, longitude 91° 50′. At this point, the Fury was forced on shore, but coming off at high water, all sail was made for a broad channel of water in the distance, but, unhappily, before it could be reached, the ice again drove in upon them, and the ships became literally helpless and unmanageable.

The Hecla, after driving with it for about a mile, struck the ground and remained fast, but the unfortunate Fury was irresistibly carried past them, and driven on shore with great violence. Both ships got off at high water; but Captain Parry, on going on board the Fury, found her injuries so severe as absolutely to require her to be hove down. Four pumps, constantly worked by both officers and men, were scarcely sufficient to keep her free.

On the 18th, the Fury was hove down in a sort of artificial harbour, constructed out of the grounded bergs; but, on examining her hull, she was found to be in such an alarming condition, that Captain Parry desired the opinion of Captain Hoppner and his officers on the best course to be pursued, and these gentlemen, taking into consideration the impossibility of securing her in her present position, or getting her afloat to another, unanimously reported—"that an absolute necessity existed for abandoning the Fury;" and Parry, having his own private opinion thus confirmed, with extreme pain and regret, ordered the signal to be made for the Fury's officers and men to repair on board with their clothes, the stores being necessarily abandoned, owing to want of room. The Hecla then stood over to the eastern shore of the Inlet, and reached Port Neill with scarcely any impediment from ice. Here she was refitted, and weighing anchor on her voyage home on the 31st August, she arrived at Sheerness on the 20th October, 1825.

CHAPTER XIX.

Three Expeditions planned in conjunction with Parry's last North Western attempt—The First, commanded by Captain Lyon, designed to reach the point where Franklin's late journey had terminated—Extreme danger of Shipwreck—Patience and fortitude of Crew—Deliverance—Another fearful Storm—Injury to the Ship—Compulsory return homewards—Second Expedition, under Captain Franklin, Overland to Behring's Straits, Dr. Richardson and Lieut. Back again being his companions—Arrival at Great Bear Lake—Erection of Winter Residence—Excursions—Christmas Day—Separation of Party—Tribe of Esquimaux—Icy Barrier—Further progress—Steps retraced—Re-union—Arrival at Fort Franklin—Second Winter—Return to England—Third Expedition by way of Behring's Straits, under Captain Beechey—Favourable voyage—Arrival at Rendezvous—Exertions to meet Franklin—Winter and Departure—Subsequent Return—Safe Arrival Home.

MENTION has been made of three expeditions in conjunction with Captain Parry's third and last north-*western* attempt. The first was commanded by Captain G. F. Lyon, and was sent out for the purpose of completing the survey of the shores of Melville Peninsula, and the Arctic shores of America as far as Cape Turn-again, the point where Franklin's late journey had terminated. The second was a land expedition under Captain Franklin, across the continent, down the Mackenzie River, and along the northern coast of America towards Behring's Straits, where the third and last expedition, sent *viâ* Cape Horn, was to meet both him and Captain Parry.

Captain Lyon sailed in the Griper, on the 19th June, 1825, accompanied by the Snap, commanded by Lieutenant Bullock, as far as the entrance of Hudson's Straits. Having taken on board the additional stores from the Snap, which considerably increased the sluggishness of the Griper, they parted company, and the latter proceeded on her lonely voyage. On the 22nd of August, they made the high land of Southampton Island, and rounding its southern extreme stood up the Welcome, where their first misfortunes commenced. The compasses, as they advanced further north, became useless; a heavy sea incessantly swept the crowded decks, while a thick fog hid everything from their sight.

In this situation three bowers and a stream anchor were let go, but before she was brought up by them, the water had shoaled to five fathoms and a half, when, momentarily expecting that the ebbing of the tide would occasion the total destruction of the ship, the boats were prepared to be hoisted out, and "every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of the boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered." Hour after hour the decks were flooded, drenching the poor fellows to the skin; and on the weather clearing a little, a low sandy beach was observed just astern of them, on which the sea was breaking fearfully, and no human power could have saved them had the anchors parted and the vessel been driven on it.

Although, however, few of them had any idea they should ever survive the gale, Lyon ordered that every man should put on his warmest clothing, and secure some useful instrument about his person. "Each therefore brought his bag on deck, and dressed himself; and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed before me, I did not see one muscle quiver nor the slightest sign of alarm. Prayers were read, and they then all sat down in groups, sheltered from

the wash of the sea by whatever they could find, and some endeavoured to obtain a little sleep.

"Never," says their gallant commander, who had not been in bed himself for three nights, "never perhaps was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship, when all hope of life had left us. Noble as the character of the British sailor is always allowed to be, in cases of danger, yet I did not believe it to be possible that among forty-one persons not one repining word should have been uttered. Each was at peace with his neighbour and all the world; and I am firmly persuaded that the resignation which was then shewn to the will of the Almighty was the means of obtaining His mercy. God *was* merciful to us; and the tide, almost miraculously, fell no lower." Very appropriately was the scene of this affecting narrative named the *Bay of God's Mercy.*

On the 12th September, off Wager Inlet, they encountered another fearful storm, and on the 13th the gale and sea increased to such a terrific extent that she broke from her anchors and drove before its fury, every one expecting her each moment to be dashed to pieces on some unknown rock, but providentially they were again preserved.

Captain Lyon now requested the advice of his officers, and all being of opinion that to continue the voyage with the ship in her present crippled state, without a single anchor, and with compasses worse than useless, was next to madness, a course was shaped for England, where they arrived safely, having done but little towards the cause of geography, but adding another to the many examples on record of the noble and manly resolution of the English seaman, in trials, at the mere recital of which the heart sinks.

The second expedition, in conjuction with Parry's voyage, was that under the command of Captain Franklin. That gallant officer, nothing daunted by

the dreadful sufferings he had undergone on his first journey, laid before the government a plan for an overland expedition to the mouth of the Mackenzie, and along the northern coasts of America to Behring's Straits; and as in the course proposed, similar dangers were not to be apprehended, while the objects to be attained were at once important to the naval character, scientific reputation, and commercial interests of Great Britain, the suggestion was adopted, and he received an appointment to the command of the party, composed of his old and tried friends, Dr. Richardson, Lieutenant Back, Mr. E. N. Kendall, Admiralty mate, and Mr. Thomas Drummond, assistant naturalist.

Captain Franklin had learnt from dear-bought experience that the light bark canoes of the Indians were ill calculated for an icy navigation, and he therefore obtained permission to have three boats constructed in the dockyard at Woolwich, of mahogany with ash timbers; while remembering the eight days spent in unavailing attempts to cross the Coppermine, a smaller one was constructed of planks of ash, fastened together with thongs, and covered with mackintosh, weighing altogether only eighty-five pounds. These boats were sent out by the way of Hudson's Bay, while the travellers took the route by New York.

The expedition sailed from Liverpool on the 16th February, 1825, and arrived at New York on the 15th March. It would be needless to follow them step by step in their progress to the northern coast; we shall merely state that they arrived at Great Bear Lake, and commenced the erection of a winter residence on its shores, whilst Captain Franklin and a party proceeded down the Mackenzie to look at the state of the navigation of the Polar Sea.

They reached the north-eastern entrance on the 14th August, in latitude 69° 14′ longitude 135° 57′,

and rejoiced at the sea-like appearance to the north. Observing an island in the distance, the boat's head was directed towards it, and hastening to its most elevated part the prospect was highly gratifying. The rocky mountains were seen from S. W. to W. ½ N., while to the north the sea appeared in all its majesty, with many seals and whales sporting in its waves. On the 5th September they returned to their winter quarters on Great Bear River, which now presented a lively bustling scene, from the preparations necessary to be made for passing eight or nine months in what was appropriately called *Fort Franklin.*

With full employment for every one, the time passed away very cheerfully. On Christmas-day sixty human beings assembled in the little hall to do honour to the usual festivities—Englishmen, Highlanders, Canadians, Esquimaux, Chipewyans, Dog-ribs, Hare Indians, Cree women and children, all talking at one time in their different languages, and all mingling together in perfect harmony.

On Tuesday, the 28th June, 1826, the whole company re-embarked in the boats, on the Mackenzie, and proceeded on their voyage down that river until the 3rd July, when, on arriving at the point where the river branches off into several channels, the separation into two parties took place,—Captain Franklin and Back with two boats (one of which had been built at the Fort) and fourteen men, including Augustus, the faithful interpreter of the former journey, were to proceed to the westward; while Dr. Richardson and Kendall in the other two were to proceed with ten men to the eastward as far as the Coppermine. We shall, however, first follow Captain Franklin and his party.

On the 7th he arrived at the mouth of the Mackenzie, where he fell in with a very large party of

Esquimaux, whose conduct was at first very violent, but by great command of temper and some conciliation they were at length brought to restore the articles pillaged from the boats. Captain Franklin, however, speedily discovered that all their protestations of regret were false, and nothing but the greatest vigilance on his part saved the party from a general massacre.

On the 13th his progress was arrested by a compact body of ice stretching from the shore to seaward; and on landing for shelter from a heavy gale, another party of Esquimaux was met with. On the 15th, having passed this barrier, they arrived off Babbage's River, but again were they involved in an icy labyrinth, which, added to the dense fogs here found in the highest degree of perfection, owing to the barrier opposed to their progress south by the Rocky Chain, made it tormentingly slow. A month,—one the most favourable for Arctic exploration,—had passed in this manner, while only 10° (three hundred and seventy-four miles) of west longitude had been attained, and another 10° still lay between them and Icy Cape. Thus situated, and ignorant that a hundred and fifty miles further west, a boat was awaiting him from the Blossom, which had been sent to Behring's Straits, under Captain Beechey, Captain Franklin justly came to the conclusion that they had reached a point, beyond which perseverance would have been rashness, and their best efforts fruitless.

On the 18th August, they, therefore, set out on their return, giving to their extreme point, in latitude 70° 24′ north, longitude 149° 37′ west, the name of *Return Reef;* and, with the exception of a violent storm near Herschel Island, reached Fort Franklin on the 21st September, without any material danger.

Here they found Dr. Richardson and his party, who had performed their voyage most successfully in

little more than a month, making an accurate survey of a coast which had been hitherto unexplored.

Many parties of Esquimaux were met with, who all appeared to live more comfortably than those seen by Franklin, but inherited the same thievish propensities. Cape Bathurst, at the extremity of a peninsula in latitude 70° 30′, longitude 127° 35′, was the most northern land met with in the voyage. In coasting along, no land was seen to the northward until they arrived at the meridian of 117° west, when they entered a strait named the Dolphin and Union, after the boats, formed by a long tract of elevated land, to which the name of Wollaston was given. The navigation of these straits was rendered extremly dangerous from the many sunken rocks near the shore.

Ascending the Coppermine on their return, at forty miles from the Bloody Falls of Hearne, they were obliged to abandon the boats, owing to the numerous rapids and rocks; and, distributing the provision among the party, they set out for the shores of Great Bear Lake, where they were taken across by a boat, and arrived at Fort Franklin on the 1st September, in high spirits and good health. Here they passed the greater part of another winter, and, on the 20th February, the last few who remained with Captain Franklin quitted the house and returned to their homes by various routes.

The third and last expedition in connection with Captain Parry's attempt by Prince Regent's Inlet, still remains to be noticed. It is that which was sent by the way of Behring's Straits under the command of Captain F. W. Beechey; and seldom has so highly interesting a voyage been so delightfully treated as in this case.[1]

[1] "A Voyage to the Pacific and Beerings Straits, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions, performed by H. M. S. Blossom, under the command of Capt. F. W. Beechey, R. N., in 1825-6-7-8." London, 4to. 1831.

The Blossom, a twenty-six-gun ship (but mounting only sixteen), sailed from England on the 19th May, 1825, fully equipped for her long and interesting voyage. It does not come within our province to meet with her again until her arrival in Behring's Straits; but, to preserve the thread of the narrative, it may be as well to run hastily over her track. Looking in at Teneriffe and Rio Janeiro, she proceeded round the Horn, and, touching at Valparaiso, Easter and Pitcairn's Islands, and Lord Gambier's Group, she arrived at Otaheite, the sad scene of Cook's death. From thence her course was to the Sandwich Islands, leaving which on the 2nd June, she was on the 27th becalmed off Petropaulowski.

On the 25th July, the ship reached Chamisso Island, in Kotzebue's Sound, the rendezvous agreed on with Captain Franklin. The arrival, within fifteen days of the time specified in his Instructions (10th July), cannot but be looked upon as an evidence of the high state of discipline to which Captain Beechey had brought his crew.

The Blossom then proceeded to push to the northward until, on reaching a point a little south of 71° north, she was arrested by the ice; and, as Captain Beechey had orders not to risk getting beset, and as, in addition, the ship was totally unfit for such a contest, he hauled off and returned to Kotzebue's Sound, despatching the master, Mr. Elson (with a crew of eight men), in the barge to follow up the service. The gallant little boat-party struggled on against all obstacles, and succeeded in getting to a point seventy miles further west, which was named after Mr. Barrow the indefatigable promoter of Arctic discovery.

Almost the same day (18th August) that Mr. Elson turned the boat's head towards Kotzebue's Sound, Franklin and his party arrived at Return Reef, so that,

had he persisted in his endeavours to reach Behring's Straits the most fatal consequences might have ensued, unless the party had had strength enough to reach the ship.

The winter now set in so quickly that no time was to be lost in getting out of the straits; and the Blossom, after burying some provision[2] on Chamisso Island, proceeded first to San Francisco in California, and afterwards to the Sandwich Isles and Macao, in China, where, having laid in a sufficient stock of provisions, she again sailed for the Straits, and arrived at the rendezvous within five days of the time appointed in the Admiralty orders.

Here no traces of Captain Franklin were seen, and they were unable to extend their researches even so far as the previous year, while the loss of the boat and the early setting in of the winter compelled them to take a final leave of Behring's Straits on the 7th October, 1827. The Blossom arrived at Spithead, after her long voyage, in which she had spent three years and a half, on the 12th October, 1828, where Captain Beechey found that Captain Franklin had preceded him in his return by more than a year.

[2] Recently dug up by Commr. Moore, of the Plover, and found to be in an excellent state of preservation.

CHAPTER XX.

Expedition by Captain Parry, with the hope of reaching the North Pole in Sledges—Arrival of the Hecla at Spitzbergen—Leaving the Ships, and Commencement of Operations—Slow and Laborious Progress—Disappointment, and Return to Table Island—Reserve of Bread devoured by Bears—Regain the Hecla—Attempt at North-Western Discovery renewed under Sir John Ross, accompanied by his Nephew Commander Ross—Expense borne by Sir Felix Booth and Ross—Disasters at Sea—Refit at Holsteinburg—Further Progress—Arrested by Barrier of Ice—Winter Quarters—Esquimaux—Survey by Commander Ross—Severe Winter—Discovery of Northern Magnetic Pole—Second Winter—Abandonment of Vessel—Danger and Fatigue in Reaching Fury Beach—Construction of Hut—Repair of Boats—Further Progress—Anxiety and Disappointment—Return to Fury Beach on Foot—Another Winter—Retrace the Way to Prince Regent's Inlet—A Sail—Disappointment—Another—Taken on Board the Isabella—Arrival at Home.

With Captain Beechey's voyage to Behring's Straits may be said to have concluded all the details of Captain Parry's third voyage in search of a north-west passage, to which it bore an indirect relation. The next Arctic project was "An attempt to reach the North Pole in boats fitted for the purpose, and attached to H.M.S. Hecla, in the year 1827, under the command of Captain W. E. Parry," &c., and is, perhaps, one of the most astonishing expeditions on record.

Captain Parry, just returned from an unsuccessful voyage to the north-west, eagerly adopted some sug-

gestions made by Mr. Scoresby and Captain Franklin, that the pole might be reached over the ice (which the experience of the former had shown to be in some places one continuous level sheet) in a vehicle, half-boat, half-sledge.

He submitted a plan to the Lords of the Admiralty, who referred it to the Royal Society, and that body reporting favourably on it, two boats were built of thin planks of ash, fir, and oak, with sheets of water-proof canvass and thick felt inlaid between, and so constructed as either to pull or sail through the water, or to drag over the ice.

The Hecla conveyed the expedition first to Hammerfest, where eight reindeer were taken on board, and next, after a tedious delay from violent storms, and in getting a safe harbour for her, to a cove on the north coast of Spitzbergen, which was named after the ship.

The best part of the season had thus unavoidably passed away, ere they could set out on their journey, and as it was quite evident that they would be unable to carry out to its fullest extent the main object of the enterprise, the reindeer were left behind, and the snow-shoes converted into four excellent sledges for dragging baggage, which proved invaluable, and on 22nd June they quitted the ship amid hearty cheers. The boats had each a crew of ten men and two officers, the second being under the charge of Lieutenants J. C. Ross and E. Bird; with provisions for seventy-one days, and all her furniture, tools, instruments, &c., each boat weighed three thousand seven hundred and fifty-three pounds.

After a voyage of eighty miles, over a sea as smooth as glass, they reached the edge, not, as was hoped, of a firm, compact body of ice, but of a loose, rugged mass intersected by channels, and fatiguing to the greatest degree to drag the boats over; and what

with loading and unloading, and going four times over the same ground to bring up the stores, a current all the time setting the whole mass bodily to the south at the rate of four miles a day, &c., they frequently advanced but two, sometimes three, and seldom more than four or five miles, directly north during a day, or, more properly speaking, *a night;* for Captain Parry found it more convenient to travel by night to avoid the glare of the sun on the ice. Another advantage of this plan, which was, however, occasionally deranged, was the greater warmth enjoyed during the hours of rest, and the better chance of drying their clothes, while the snow was also much harder during the night, and firmer to the tread; the only disadvantage was that the fogs were somewhat thicker and more frequent by night than day.

Their progress under these disadvantages was, as may be conceived, both slow and to the utmost extent laborious. They had begun their toilsome journey on the 25th June, in the latitude of 81° 13′; on the 29th their latitude was 81° 23′, *only eight miles of direct northing!* This startling fact Captain Parry and his officers kept to themselves; and, knowing that they would never be able to reach the Pole, he only stipulated that they should persevere to reach the parallel of 83°. Onward they struggled without a single murmur, in the face of torrents of rain, which Captain Parry says he had never seen equalled, heavy falls of snow, and dense fogs, to accomplish that which appeared an utter impossibility, only remarking, with a laugh, "that they were a long time getting to this 83°."

As they advanced, it appeared as if this point would really be attained, for the floes of ice became longer, though still not coming under the title of "fields;" but this hope was soon after crushed. On the 22nd July their latitude by observation was

82° 43′ 5″; on the 26th, 82° 40′ 23″; so that, since the 22nd, they had actually lost by drift no less than thirteen miles and a half; for they were more than three miles to the southward of the observation obtained at midnight on that day, and they had certainly travelled during that interval between ten and eleven miles.

This discouraging fact, together with a steady breeze from the northward which, though an advantage, inasmuch as it opened some lanes of water, was outweighed by the greater drift of the masses of ice to the southward, determined Captain Parry to abandon what was now a hopeless journey, and accordingly he ordered a day of rest previous to setting out on their return. The gallant boats' crews were deeply disappointed that their exertions for thirty-five days, during which they had traversed, at a moderate calculation, some five hundred and eighty geographical miles, had been productive of such poor results; and, to their honour be it said, that in toiling on to reach the latitude of 83°, they had only in view the desire to gratify their commander's wish, and had no suspicion that, by an order in Council, they would on reaching that point become entitled to a reward of one thousand pounds.

On the 27th they turned their backs on these dreary and cheerless scenes, and the drift of the ice to the southward being now all in their favour, made considerable progress. On the 11th August they again launched on the open sea, and on the 12th reached Table Island, where it was discovered that all the stock of bread deposited there had been discovered and devoured by the bears, and they were therefore obliged to steer for Walden Island, where a similar supply was found undisturbed. On the 21st they arrived at Hecla Cove, where they met with that warm and cordial welcome which can only

be felt, not described; and thus ended their ever-memorable expedition.

Captain Parry's Polar attempt was the last of the series made to the same quarter; but, in the year 1829, a most important expedition left England for the purpose of completing that officer's north-western discoveries, under the command of Captain Sir John Ross. The project was solely a private enterprize. Captain Ross, over whom a cloud had been hanging ever since his voyage to Baffin's Bay in 1818, after many earnest solicitations prevailed on the late Sir Felix Booth, Bart., the wealthy distiller, to advance the sum of 17,000*l.*, to which he himself added 3000*l.*, towards fitting out a small vessel for an Arctic voyage, in which he might vindicate his character as an able and enterprising navigator.

The idea was nobly conceived, and nobly carried out. This munificent sacrifice of private fortune so disinterestedly made by Sir Felix Booth, as well as by Sir J. Ross, for the sole advancement of the honour of their country, the interests of science, and, as regards the former, the gratification of the feelings of a friend, was gratefully acknowledged by a baronetcy; while Captain Ross, after "an extraordinary escape from the protracted endurance of hardships unparalleled in Arctic Story," returned to England, having completely falsified many invidious charges brought against him owing to the ill success of his first voyage.

The reward of 20,000*l.* to the discoverers of the passage having been withdrawn in 1828, the only objection Booth had to assist his friend was removed, and that gentleman immediately, as before stated, advanced the requisite funds for the purchase of a ship, called the Victory, fitted with steam engine and paddle-wheels, from which appendages Captain Ross expected to derive great advantage during the light

winds so prevalent in the Arctic latitudes. Her crew consisted of nineteen men, a surgeon, and purser, whilst Commander James Clark Ross accompanied his uncle as his chief officer.

The Victory left the Thames on the 23rd May, 1829. She was to be accompanied from Loch Ryan to Prince Regent's Inlet, with additional stores, by the whaler John, which had been purchased for that purpose; but on her joining that vessel, the crew were, with very few exceptions, found to be in a state of mutiny, and ultimately the little Victory set out alone on her voyage, rendered doubly perilous by her half broken and "execrable" machinery. She had on board a thousand days' provision and fuel and the two boats lately used by Captain Franklin, and in tow, a decked vessel of sixteen tons burden, named after the Russian Admiral Krusenstern, which had accompanied a former Polar expedition.

A very few days at sea convinced the commander that his engine, though ingenious enough in theory, was incapable of standing the wear and tear of such an arduous voyage. In a terrible gale, on the 14th June, the fore topmast was carried away, but on arriving at the Danish settlement of Holsteinburg, this and other losses were luckily replaced from the wreck of the whaler Rookwood, once the Rattler sloop of war. In August, Captain Ross arrived at Lancaster Sound, and on the 13th of that month reached the beach where the Fury and her stores had been left by Captain Parry. The boats, provisions, &c., were found in excellent condition, but no vestige of the wreck remained.

After completing their fuel and other necessaries, they again sailed, and rounding Cape Garry, where the voyage of discovery commenced, ran down the coast in a south-west by west course, naming many considerable inlets &c., until they were finally arrested

on the 1st October by an impenetrable barrier of ice, in latitude 70° north, and longitude 90° west. Here secure winter quarters were found, in a harbour named after the munificent patron of the voyage, while to the whole of the land, the shores of which had been coasted from Brentford Bay to this point, the name of BOOTHIA FELIX was given.

Early in January 1830, they were fortunate enough to establish a friendly intercourse with the Esquimaux, who communicated to them the important information that about forty miles to the south-west there were two great seas, divided only by a narrow neck of land; and in April this intelligence was verified by Commander Ross and a party, who found that the north land was connected to the south by two ridges of high land fifteen miles in breadth, but taking into account a chain of fresh water lakes which occupied the valleys between the dry land, which actually separated the two oceans, was only five miles. In a second journey, Commander Ross minutely examined the shores of the Isthmus and the coast to the westward, which he traced to the 99th degree of western longitude, or two hundred and twenty miles from the Point Turn-again of Captain Franklin, to which it appeared directly to trend. During this journey Commander Ross also surveyed thirty miles of the northern coast of the isthmus, which, by taking a westerly direction, formed the termination of the western sea into a gulf, and on the strait opening into it between this land and that to the southward previously traced, the name of James Clark Ross was very appropriately bestowed. The winter of 1830-31 was unparalleled in Arctic annals for severity, the thermometer falling 92° below freezing point.

In the summer a journey was made across the country by the chain of Lakes thirty miles north of the isthmus, and Commander Ross succeeded in

surveying fifty miles more of the coast leading to the north-west, and terminating in one of the grandest discoveries of modern days—the Northern Magnetic Pole. In the autumn of this year they succeeded in getting the Victory out of Felix Harbour, but were unable to force her round the eastern point of Boothia Felix: all hopes of saving her were now therefore at an end, and this was put quite beyond possibility by another very severe winter; while, having provisions to last only to June 1832, it became absolutely necessary to abandon her, and as the only chance for saving their lives, to attempt to reach Fury Beach. This was accordingly done on the 29th May, 1832, and after a fearful journey of two hundred miles, lengthened nearly one half by the necessity of keeping close to, and following the windings of, the land, owing to the rugged nature of the ice, on the 1st July they reached the beach, completely exhausted by hunger and fatigue.

A hut was speedily constructed and the boats repaired, but the ice afforded no cheering prospect until the 1st August, when they reached the spot where the Fury was first driven on shore. On the 1st September they arrived at Leopold South Island, and from the summit of the lofty mountain on the promontory, beheld Prince Regent's Inlet, Barrow's Strait, and Lancaster Sound, one impenetrable mass of ice. Whilst in a state of the greatest anxiety and suspense, they were again forced, by the approach of severe winter, to return to Fury Beach, where alone there remained wherewith to sustain life, and where they arrived after a most fatiguing and laborious march, having been obliged to leave the boats in Batty Bay.

In July, 1833, they again set out for the entrance of the Inlet, and their joy may be imagined when, on reaching their former position, they saw almost clear

water stretching directly across it. On the 25th August, they crossed Navy Board Inlet, and on the following morning, descried a sail in the offing.

It would be difficult to picture their dismay, when they beheld this vessel take advantage of a breeze, and make all sail to the south-eastward, but again their hearts bounded at the sight of another ship, apparently lying-to for her boats. She too, however, bore up and made sail; but just when their spirits were fast ebbing, and the joyful excitement was giving way to a feeling of hopeless lassitude, providently it fell calm, and they soon gained on her, so much that they were observed, and a boat was lowered and pulled towards them.

The mate, in command, in answer to the request to know the name of his vessel, replied that it was "the Isabella, of Hull, once commanded by Captain Ross;" on which Captain Ross told him that he was that identical man, whereupon he was assured by the mate, with the usual thoughtlessness of men on such occasions, that that was impossible, as Captain Ross had been dead for two years; however, he was easily convinced, that what, according to his estimate, ought to have been true, was a somewhat premature conclusion, and, on gaining the ship, three hearty cheers spoke the warmth of their congratulations.

"But the ludicrous soon took place of all other feelings; in such a crowd, and such confusion, all serious thought was impossible, while the new buoyancy of our spirits, made us abundantly willing to be amused by the scene which now opened. Every man was hungry, and was to be fed; all were ragged, and were to be clothed; there was not one to whom washing was not indispensable, nor one whom his beard did not deprive of all English semblance. All, everything too, was to be done at once: it was washing, dressing, shaving, eating, all intermingled; it was all the materials of each jumbled together, while,

in the midst of all, there were interminable questions to be asked and answered on both sides: the adventures of the Victory, our own escapes, the politics of England, and the news which was now four years old.

"But all subsided into peace at last. The sick were accommodated, the seamen disposed of, and all was done for all of us which care and kindness could perform.

"Night at length brought quiet and serious thoughts, and I trust there was not a man among us, who did not then express, where it was due, his gratitude for that interposition which had raised us all from a despair which none could now forget, and had brought us from the very borders of a most distant grave, to life, and friends, and civilization.

"Long accustomed, however, to a cold bed on the hard snow or the bare rock, few could sleep amid the comfort of our new accommodations. I was myself compelled to leave the bed which had been kindly assigned me, and take my abode in a chair for the night, nor did it fare much better with the rest. It was for time to reconcile us to this sudden and violent change, to break through what had become habit, and to inure us once more to the usages of our former days." (pp. 722–3.)

The captain of the Isabella had made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to cross Prince Regent's Inlet to Leopold's Islands, in hopes of finding some traces of the party who had been entirely given up as lost, and was on his return, when he was thus opportunely met with by the objects of his humane efforts.

On the 19th October the whole party arrived safely in London, after one of the most extraordinary expeditions on record; which had decided many important scientific questions, fixed the position of the northern magnetic Pole, and proved the combination of light with magnetism; traced the chief boundaries of a

newly discovered land, verified the Esquimaux accounts given to Captain Parry of an inland sea, and brought to light lakes, rivers, and islands; while, during its progress, the powers of human endurance had been subjected to the severest ordeal, were placed, as it were, upon the rack, and called upon for four years and five months to sustain every kind and degree of privation; and to all this misery three individuals only had fallen victims, two of whom died of diseases foreign to the climate.

The case of Sir John Ross and his brave men was brought before a select committee of the House of Commons in April, 1834, and it is gratifying to be able to state, that the gentlemen who composed that committee were fully alive to the advantages accruing to a great naval power, like England, from voyages of discovery of this class, and that they unhesitatingly recommended that its gallant commander should be voted the sum of 5000*l*.

As to the other officers and men of the ship, although none but Commander Ross had any claim on the government, the Admiralty, in a wise and liberal spirit, rewarded all bountifully. Double pay was given to the men up to the time of the abandonment of the ship, and full pay after that, till their arrival in England, whilst eligible situations in the dockyards and elsewhere were liberally bestowed. Commander Ross, to whom the greater part of the scientific results of the expedition are due, was appointed commander of H. M. S. Victory for twelve months, that he might, by that length of service, be enabled to receive post rank, which, by a special minute, the Admiralty ensured to him at the expiration of that time; and, finally, acting on the warm expressions of the committee, his Most Gracious Majesty, William the Fourth, was pleased to create Mr. Felix Booth, to whose modest public spirit and rare munificence this expedition was entirely due, a baronet.

CHAPTER XXI.

Anxiety in England respecting the Fate of Captain Ross—Captain Back appointed to go in search of him—Liberal Conduct of Hudson's Bay Company—Instructions from Colonial Office—Departure—Arrival at Great Slave Lake—Difficulty of Route—Discovery of Sussex Lake—Canoe Voyage—Rapids—Erection of Winter Dwelling—Native Superstitions—Famine—News of the safe Arrival of Captain Ross in England—Return of Spring, and renewal of Journey—Construction of Boats, and Embarkation on Back River—Hopes and Disappointments—Arrival within sight of Sea-coast—Arrested by a Barrier of Drift Ice—Return to Fort Reliance—Winter—Arrival in England.

VERY nearly the same anxiety was displayed in England for the fate of Captain Ross and his men, in the year 1833, as now exists in 1850 with regard to Sir John Franklin; and plans were as eagerly formed for his release then, as they are now for that of our noble countrymen. Captain Back, the well-remembered companion of Franklin and Richardson, was in Italy when he first heard of the intention of government to send a party to the relief of Captain Ross; and hastening home, he offered his valuable services, which were gladly accepted, and accordingly were transferred by the Admiralty to the Colonial office, under which department of government he was to act.

A committee of the first men of the day was formed, of which the King was pleased to be patron; and

subscriptions were received from various learned and scientific bodies, and different parts of the empire, to the extent of several thousands of pounds, to which his majesty's government added 2,000*l.*, for the purposes of the expedition.

Soon after the committee had been appointed, the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company came forward, and in the handsomest manner undertook to furnish from their stores, for the use of the expedition, everything it might require during its absence, upon the understanding that all beyond their truly liberal subscription of one hundred and twenty bags of *pemmican*, two boats and two canoes, should be regularly charged. They also gave Captain Back a commission, which would enable him to command obedience, and even supplies when required, from any of their servants, who might not have received direct instructions on this head.

Captain Back quitted England in the month of February, 1833. He was accompanied by Mr. Richard King, who was engaged at a salary, as surgeon and naturalist to the expedition, and three men, the remaining thirteen, of which the complement was to be composed, were to be picked from the best hunters of Canada. To give the reader an accurate idea of the ground which Captain Back was directed to traverse, we subjoin the instructions he received from the Colonial office.

"Colonial Office,
"*4th February*, 1833.

"Sir,—The Commissioners of the Admiralty having been pleased to lend your services to this office, that you may conduct an expedition now preparing to proceed to the Polar Sea in search of Captain Ross, you are hereby required and desired to undertake this service, placing yourself for the purpose at

the disposition of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have undertaken to furnish you with the requisite resources and supplies.

"You are to leave Liverpool early in February, and to proceed with your party by way of New York to Montreal, and thence along the usual route pursued by the North-West Traders to Great Slave Lake, which it is hoped you will reach by the 20th July. You are then to strike off to the north-eastward, or in such other direction as you may ascertain to be most expedient, in order to gain the Thlew-ec-choh-desseth or Great Fish River, which is believed either to issue from Slave Lake, or to rise in its vicinity, and thence to flow with a navigable course to the northward till it reaches the sea. On arriving at the banks of this river you are to select a convenient situation for a winter residence, and immediately appoint a portion of your force to erect a house thereon: but, if possible, you are to proceed yourself with an adequate party, and explore the river to the coast the same season, erecting a conspicuous landmark at its mouth, and leaving notice of your intention to return the ensuing Spring, in case Captain Ross should be making progress along this part of the shore.

"You are to take care, however, to return before the commencement of the Winter, to avoid any undue exposure of your men. During the Winter you are to construct two boats capable of navigating the Polar Sea; and as early as possible in the ensuing Spring you are to descend again to its shores.

"Your proceedings afterwards must be much guided by your own judgment. The first object will be to reach Cape Garry, where His Majesty's late Ship Fury was wrecked; on the remaining stores of which it is known that Captain Ross in some measure

relied; but in making for this point, whether by the east or west, you must be governed by the position of the mouth of the river, and other local circumstances, as you progressively ascertain them. While passing along the coast you are to keep a vigilant look-out upon the shore for any signal or indication of the party of which you are in search (particularly at the entrance of the Hecla and Fury Strait, should you take the eastern passage); and in the event of your meeting them previous to your arrival at Cape Garry, you are to offer to return immediately, and bring them with you to the Hudson's Bay Settlements. Or, should you find any indication of their having been on any part of the coast before your arrival, you are to search minutely for some memorial which may lead to the discovery of their intentions; and to proceed, in the event of success, in whatever practicable direction may seem best calculated to lead you to them. Devoting the summer, then, to the interesting search in contemplation, it is unnecessary to recommend to you to make it as effectual as possible, consistently with a due regard for the health and preservation of your party.

"But whatever may be its prospects or success, you are on no account to prolong it beyond such a period of the year (varying from the 12th to the 20th of August, according to the distance which you may have attained) as will ensure your return to your winter quarters before the severe weather sets in. On your acting in this particular with due caution may depend the eventual success of the whole Expedition. On your return to your temporary establishment you are carefully to examine the state of your supplies, if possible also communicating with Great Slave Lake, to ascertain whether additional stores are there collected for you. And if you find that you can, with reasonable prudence, devote a second Summer to the service on

which you are engaged, you are hereby required and directed to do so, but if not, you are to return to England in the following Spring.

"Subordinate to your object of finding Captain Ross, or any survivors or survivor of his party, you are to direct your attention to mapping what yet remains unknown of the coast which you will visit, and making such other scientific observations as your leisure will admit, for which purposes the requisite instruments will be supplied to you. But you are not for such objects to deviate from your principal pursuit until you shall have either succeeded in its accomplishment, or satisfactorily ascertained that its success is impossible.

"You are, during your absence, to embrace any opportunities that may offer of corresponding with this Office, and report your arrival here on your return.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"GODERICH."

"*To Captain George Back, R.N.,*
"*21, Regent Street.*"

These instructions were greatly modified, in consequence of the return of Captain Ross and his lost men, in the month of October in the same year, and Captain Back was therefore advised, by an overland despatch, to turn his whole attention to the second object of his journey, viz.: completing the survey of the coast-line of the north-eastern extremity of America.

We shall avoid the repetition of the details of Captain Back's fatiguing journey from Montreal to Fort Resolution, on Great Slave Lake, where he arrived on the 8th August; it was the journey of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and is the common route of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. On his

arrival there, he was sorely puzzled as to the future course to be pursued;—while all the Indians were agreed as to the dangers of the navigation of the Thlew-ee-choh-dezeth, or Great Fish River, singularly enough, they were utterly ignorant of its position, and earnestly recommended the route by the Tĕh-lon-desseth—*anglicè*—the Little Fish River, which they represented as running to the westward of north, and as a broad and noble stream, decorated on either bank with tall pine and birch, and abounding with musk-oxen, moose, rein-deer and fish; whilst the former was graphically pourtrayed as originating in rapids, narrow, shoal, and dangerous—destitute of wood, even for fuel—full of dangerous cascades and falls—and after a course more tortuous than that of any river known to the oldest and most experienced of their tribe, tumbling over its northern barrier in a foaming cataract into the sea.

Ultimately, however, after much embarrassment and perplexity, he decided on dividing the crew into two parties, taking six with him in the canoe to search for the Thlew-ee-choh, and leaving the remainder as an escort with Mr. M'Leod, one of the Company's agents who had volunteered to accompany the expedition, and who was to prepare a winter habitation at the eastern end of the lake.

On the 11th August, Captain Back embarked on his navigation of the Slave Lake, and after a voyage along the shore of the Lake, which sometimes rose to a perpendicular height of twelve hundred feet, and equalled in grandeur and boldness the scenery of the Alps or Appenines, among a labyrinth of islands, more or less wooded, some steep, round and bare, others broken or shelving covered with low pine and birch, on the 19th August they arrived at the entrance of the Hoar-Frost River, and commenced their toilsome ascent of its steep and rocky bed. The labour-

ious duty of carrying the canoes and stores over the portages, was rendered doubly severe by the combined attack of myriads of sand-flies and mosquitos, which made their faces stream with blood. "There is certainly no form of wretchedness among those to which the chequered life of a *voyageur* is exposed, at once so great and so humiliating, as the torture inflicted by these puny blood-suckers. To avoid them it is impossible; and as for defending himself, though for a time, he may go on crushing by thousands, he cannot long maintain the unequal conflict; so that at last, subdued by pain and fatigue, he throws himself in despair with his face to the earth, and, half-suffocated in his blanket, groans away a few hours of sleepless rest."

An anecdote is related by Captain Back of Sir John Franklin, who always made it a rule never to destroy one of these tormenting plagues, remarking that the world was wide enough for them both; and the astonished Indians, who had seen Sir John on his former journey quietly blow the half-gorged insect from his hands when taking his observations, could not refrain from expressing their surprise that Captain Back should be so much unlike "*the old chief*," when they observed him fill his tent with smoke in order to stupify these pests.

The ascent of so rapid a river as the Hoar-Frost, under the most favourable circumstances, would have been most fatiguing; but attended by such dangers and torments, it was peculiarly laborious and distressing; but at length, after passing a succession of lakes, portages and rivers, with their usual accompaniments of rapids and cascades, on the 26th August, Captain Back beheld from the summit of a high hill, an immense lake, extending with a clear horizon to the S. W., and abounding in large islands and bays, from ten to fifteen miles deep. It was, according to Indian

testimony, about sixty miles in extent towards the north-west, with a breadth not exceeding thirty, nor less than twenty miles. This splendid sheet of water was named Aylmer, after the Governor-General of Canada.

A party of four men, with provisions for three days, was despatched in a N. and N. W. direction, to look for the river Thlew-ee-choh or the lake in which it was supposed to take its rise, and returned four days afterwards, having fallen in with the river on the second day of their journey; though Captain Back may be said to have first discovered Sussex Lake, in which it took its rise, during a short journey he made to look for the men.

On the 31st August, they embarked on the Thlew-ee-choh, a name which has since very properly been changed by geographers to *Back's River;* but on reaching Musk-ox Lake, a series of rapids commenced, which the canoe was too weak to run, and too ricketty to be carried over; and Captain Back had, therefore, no choice but to stop and rest satisfied with what had been achieved, which, if not equal to his hopes, was still sufficient to cheer his companions, and lure them on to the relief, as they then supposed, of their long-suffering countrymen—Ross and his party.

They therefore commenced their return; and as the canoe had now become dangerously shattered the water passage was made with great difficulty and peril, and had it not been for the admirable manner in which she was carried down all the rapids, certain destruction would have been their fate. "I had," says Captain Back, "this day (5th September) another opportunity of admiring the consummate skill of De Charlôit, who ran our ricketty and shattered canoe down four successive rapids which, under less able management, would have whirled it and every-

body in it to certain destruction. Nothing could exceed the self-possession and nicety of judgment with which he guided the frail thing along the narrow line between the high waves of the torrent and the returning eddy: a foot in either direction would have been fatal; but, with the most perfect ease and, I may add, elegant and graceful action, his keen eyes fixed upon the run (lead of the water), he kept her true to her course through all its rapid windings."

They were obliged to abandon the canoe, however, at the Ah-hel-dessy, and the remainder of the journey had to be performed on foot, sometimes in valleys heaped with confused masses of debris from the surrounding granite, at others along narrow shelves of perpendicular rocks, not unlike some of the passes of the Alps, and threatening the same disastrous consequences from a false step.

"But how," says Captain Back, "can I possibly give an idea of the torment we endured from the sand-flies? As we dived into the confined and suffocating chasms or waded through the close swamps they rose in clouds, actually darkening the air; to see or to speak was equally difficult, for they rushed at every undefended part, and fixed their poisonous fangs in an instant. Our faces streamed with blood as if leeches had been applied, and there was a burning and irritating pain followed by immediate inflammation, and producing giddiness which almost drove us mad. Whenever we halted, which the nature of the country compelled us to do often, the men, even Indians, threw themselves on their faces and moaned with pain and agony."

At the confluence of the Ah-hel-dessy with the Great Slave Lake, Captain Back and his men found Mr. M'Leod, who had successfully set up the framework of their winter residence, which was named

Fort Reliance, notwithstanding the constant persecutions of their dreaded enemies the sand-flies.

.. The hunting season had been particularly unfortunate, and, as the winter set in, starving Indians continued to arrive from every point of the compass, declaring that the animals had left the Barren Lands where they had been accustomed to feed; and, had it not been the case that the two previous seasons had been equally unproductive, Captain Back believes that they would have attributed their misfortunes to the presence of the white man in the vicinity—a superstition quite excusable among a race of people who firmly believe that the stepping of a woman over a gun for ever injures its killing qualities, and who regarded the magnetic observations of Captain Back as the operation of "raising the devil."

Their hall was in a manner filled with invalids and other stupidly dejected beings who, seated round the fire, occupied themselves in roasting and devouring small bits of their reindeer garments, which, even when entire, afforded them a very insufficient protection against a temperature of 102° *below freezing point.* "The father torpid and despairing; the mother, with a hollow and sepulchral wail, vainly endeavouring to soothe the infant which, with unceasing moan, clung to her shrivelled and exhausted breast; the passive child gazing vacantly around; such was one of the many groups that surrounded us. But not a murmur escaped from the men."

A handful of mouldy pounded meat, which was reserved for the dogs, was the most liberal allowance that could be made from the scanty store; and this meal, unpalatable and unwholesome as it was, with the Indians great solace, a pipe, was sufficient to efface for a moment the recollection of their sorrows, and even to light up their faces with a smile of hope.

"We know," they said, "that you are as much distressed as ourselves, and you are very good.'"

These dreadful privations were, however, chiefly felt by the aged and infirm and by the children, who, but for the Fort, would have perished from actual starvation. "Often," says Captain Back, "did I share my own plate with the children, whose helpless state and piteous cries were peculiarly distressing; compassion for the full-grown may or may not be felt, but that heart must be cased in steel which is insensible to the cry of a child for food." Such sentiments as these do honour to the narrator, and his reward will not end with the blessings which were showered on his head by those unfortunate creatures whose lives he was often the means of preserving.

On the 25th April the news arrived of the safe return of Captain Ross and his party to their native land; and Captain Back, now relieved of a great load of anxiety, determined to make every preparation in order to be ready for a start down the Thlew-ee-choh immediately the weather broke up; and on the 7th June, after burying the unnecessary stores, &c., the doors and windows of Fort Reliance were blocked up, and, accompanied by four of the ablest of the *voyageurs*, an Indian guide, and Mr. King, Captain Back left his dreary and desolate wintering-place with his breast lightened and his spirit free; and with a quick step went on his way rejoicing.

At Artillery Lake they took up the remainder of the party, and the carpenters who had been engaged in the construction of the two boats; having selected one of which, she was placed upon runners, and their journey was recommenced. On the 28th June, after a most fatiguing march, the boat was launched on the waters of the Back River, and on the 1st July they reached Musk-ox Rapid, the point where the former voyage had terminated. Two miles further it was

joined by a large stream, which the Indians called Contwoy-to River, which they said took its rise in the lake of the same name, called by Hearne Rum Lake. Shortly after, Mr. M'Leod, to whose unremitted exertions as a hunter, Captain Back and his party in a great measure owed their existence, set out on his return to Fort Resolution, with directions to be again on the banks of the Thlew-ee-choh by the middle of September.

On the 8th July, after having taken a final leave of the old chief Akaitcho, who, with his people, had manifested great interest in the whole of the expedition, the boat was laden with her cargo and prepared for her voyage down the river. She weighed three thousand three hundred and sixty pounds exclusive of covering or awning, masts, yards, sails, spare oars, poles, planking, and the crew. The latter, as now finally reduced, consisted of three Highlanders, an Orkney, an Irish, and a Lancashire man, two half-breeds, Mr. King, and the commander.

Much do we regret that space does not permit us to detail this interesting voyage down a river now for the first time visited by any European; a glance at the map will at once convey to the mind the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, as well as the valuable additions made to geographical discovery, far better than any words. On the 12th Captain Back was greatly dismayed to see a range of low mountains stretching in a direction north-west and south-east, and seeming to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the onward course of the river. Captain Back had long given up all hope that the Thlew-ee-choh fell into Bathurst Inlet; but, now that it appeared to take an easterly course, towards Chesterfield Inlet, all his plans and calculations resting on the northerly course of the river were overthrown, and his disappointment and uneasiness knew no bounds. Great,

therefore, was his delight when, after waiting for the breaking up of the ice, which extended from shore to shore, the river again took a northerly turn; and as quickly were his hopes quenched when it again bent suddenly to the southward.

On the 16th July, however, the river again assumed a direct course to the north, and now commenced a series of rapids and cascades, rocks and portages, to which the first part of the voyage was comparatively safe navigation.

The roar of the water, rushing between ranges of precipitous sand-hills, was heard for the distance of a mile, and was scarcely ever out of their ears. Hoar-Frost portage was bad enough, but some that they now had to surmount bore no resemblance to it for danger. The boat was just got down, but without the least care whether she would ever be able to get up again Back pressed on, he had determined to reach the Polar sea, and difficulties only served to strengthen his determination.

On the 19th July, the river opened out into a series of broad and extensive lakes, which were named after Sir Henry Pelly, the governor, and Mr. Garry, a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose interest in Polar voyages is sufficiently expressed by the numerous points in the Arctic regions which bear their names.

Proceeding onward, the voyagers passed Lake Macdougall, and rapid after rapid, until, on the 28th July, they arrived at Lake Franklin, where they had an interview with a very friendly tribe of Esquimaux, to whom Captain Back was indebted for ever getting to the sea at all; for had they not lent a helping hand to carry the boat over the last portage, the men would decidedly have been unequal to the task.

The first sea-coast seen was a majestic headland, which was honoured by the name of the Princess

Victoria. "This, then, may be considered as the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh, which, after a violent and tortuous course of five hundred and thirty geographical miles, running through an iron ribbed country, without a single tree on the whole line of its banks, expanding into fine large lakes, with clear horizons, most embarrassing to the navigator, and broken into falls, cascades, and rapids, to the number of no less than eighty-three in the whole, pours its waters into the Polar sea, in lat. 67° 11′ 00″ N., and long. 94° 30′ 0″ W.; that is to say, about thirty-seven miles more south than the mouth of the Coppermine River, and nineteen miles more south than that of Back's River, at the lower extremity of Bathurst's Inlet.

After passing Irby and Mangle's Bay, and a huge barren rock about eight hundred feet high, which was named after the present distinguished hydrographer to the Admiralty, Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, Captain Back was arrested by drift ice, and ascended a hill in the hopes of beholding a free and open sea; but the first glance, as he topped the crest, was sufficient to chill that hope, and a careful inspection with the telescope produced the unwelcome conviction, that his future progress, if made at all, must be worked out by slow and laborious efforts.

From the horizon, to within two miles of where he stood, glared one solid body of drift ice, connecting both shores. The western shore was for a like reason unapproachable, and Captain Back had great reason to be grateful that the primary object of the service had been providentially anticipated.

Here the expedition may be said to have terminated, for although, after much delay, Captain Back succeeded in reaching the western shore, and tracing its course round to the eastward as far as Point Booth, to reach Point Turnagain was found absolutely im-

practicable, and as to a land journey, of which Captain Back cherished the notion, that was completely frustrated, by the impossibility of carrying any weight on a soil in which, at every step, they sunk half leg deep, destitute of shrubs or moss for fuel, and almost without water, over which they must have travelled for days and days to have made even a few miles of longitude; and where, finally, if sickness had overtaken any one of the party, his fate would have been inevitable.

Thus circumstanced, Captain Back had no choice but to abandon the further prosecution of the attempt, and accordingly, after assembling the men and unfurling the British flag, which was saluted with three hearty cheers, they set out on their return. The latitude of the place was 68° 13′ 57″ N., longitude 94° 58′ 1″ W., and the variation, as well as the sluggishness of the instrument would allow of determination, 1° 46′ W.

It would be of little use to enumerate the dangers of Captain Back's return voyage, suffice it to say, that on the 17th September, he met his friend Mr. M'Leod and a party, who, faithful to their promise, were awaiting him on the shores of Musk-ox Lake. On the 24th they reached the Ah-hel-dessy. The descent of this small, but rapid river, was a succession of running rapids, making portages, and lowering down cascades, and at length one deep perpendicular fall, named after Captain Anderson, R. A., rushing between mountainous rocks into a vast chasm, stopped all further progress, and the boat was obliged to be abandoned.

On the 27th September they reached Fort Reliance, after an absence of nearly four months, tired, indeed, but well in health, and truly grateful for the manifold mercies they had experienced in the course of their long and perilous journey. Arrangements

were immediately made for passing the winter as comfortably as possible; Captain Back had, indeed, some idea of trying if there was any communication between Lake Beechey and Back's River, at the bottom of Bathurst Inlet; but with sincere reluctance, after anxious deliberation, he relinquished it as hopeless.

Back set out on his return in the ensuing March, and on the 8th September arrived at Liverpool, after an absence of nearly two years and six months. The remainder of the party returned to England in the Hudson's Bay Company's ship in October.

CHAPTER XXII.

Royal Geographical Society recommend new Expedition—Command entrusted to Captain Back—Embarkation in the Terror—Ice bound off Cape Comfort—Breaking up of Ice—Successive Storms—Liberation of Vessel—Damage—Return to England—Completion of the Survey of the Arctic Shore of American Continent, by Messrs. Dease and Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the particulars of their three successive Expeditions.

In the year 1836 the Royal Geographical Society of London recommended to the Colonial Secretary, that an attempt should be made to reach the shores of Prince Regent's Inlet, by a land journey from Wager River, or Repulse Bay, and otherwise, for the purpose of geographical research in this quarter. The project was referred to the Admiralty, who accordingly ordered H. M. S. Terror to be fitted for the voyage, and Captain Back, who had just returned from his exploits on the Thlew-ee-choh, was appointed to the command.

The plan of operations, as pointed out to Captain Back by the Geographical Society, was, to proceed to Salisbury Island, when he was left to his own discretion, whether to pursue the course successfully chosen by Parry, up the Frozen Strait, or to try the more circuitous route by the Welcome, in which Captain Lyon had so signally failed. On reaching either Wager River, or Repulse Bay, Captain Back was to leave the ship in charge of an officer, and to proceed, with a large party, across the land, to examine the

bottom of Prince Regent's Inlet, sending a detachment to the north, as far as the strait of the Fury and Hecla, and another to the west, to endeavour to reach Point Turnagain.

The Terror left the Thames on the 14th June, 1836, and on the 14th August, made Salisbury Island. Captain Back, as may be supposed, did not long hesitate which course he should pursue. While Captain Lyon, in the Griper, had only been providentially delivered from the dangers of the Welcome, Parry had made the passage of the Frozen Strait, with comparative ease; and the Terror, therefore, stood to the northward, to follow that example. But it was not long before they were stopped in their adventurous career; after some days "boring" through the floes, on the 13th September, they were firmly fixed off Cape Comfort. "Not a pool of water was visible in any direction: to the mercy of Providence alone, could we look for rescue from our perilous situation. None but those who have experienced it, can judge of the weariness of heart, the blank of feeling, the feverish sickliness of taste, which gets the better of the whole man, under circumstances such as these."

Captain Back describes his situation thus, for days, weeks, and months, as being "held within sight of the same land, as if it were in the grasp of a giant." Most inappropriate was the name of "Comfort" applied to the black, frowning mass of inaccessible cliff, off which they were whirled about powerless. Any idea of reaching Repulse Bay under such circumstances, would have been preposterous: indeed the wonder is, how the ship ever stood the enormous pressure to which she was subjected, and which left on the ice as perfect an impression of her form, as if struck in a mould.

An attempt was being made to cut out a dock in apparently one of the most secure floes, when the

whole mass, by one of those extraordinary convulsions, which is the last hope of the beset Arctic Voyager, broke up, and drove with great violence right up the Frozen Strait, grinding large heaps that opposed its progress to powder. The poor ship was often carried within a short distance of secure shelter, but her "icy cradle" again bore her away on its bosom, and kept her commander in a state of the most anxious fear.

Towards the end of November, however, their floating prison became a little more settled, and they began to build snow walls around her, to protect her from the weather, and give employment to the men. On the 22nd December, a storm arose, and raged like a hurricane for some days, which mortal man could not stand against. As the gale was off the land, the greatest apprehension was felt, lest the floe should break up, when instant destruction would have been their doom; but when it abated on the 24th, so great had been its force, that they found they had actually been driven twelve or fourteen miles east of Cape Comfort.

In February, another frightful convulsion took place, and they were carried within view of Sea-horse Point. To find themselves at freedom to move, would, two months later, have been the summit of their wishes, but now they saw it with reluctance, as it only mocked them with a hope which could not be realized, while it involved them in immediate peril.

On the 16th March, another rush drove the ship up under ice, and she careened fully four streaks. Scarcely were they recovered from their astonishment, that anything of human build could outlive such assaults, when again the ice drove on her, and threw up a wave thirty feet high, crowned by a blue square mass of many tons, resembling the entire side of a house, which, almost by a miracle, fell astern of the poor trembling ship. But the floe on which she

rested, appears to have had a very massive foundation, and this most probably proved their only safety.

Until the 10th July, they were thus drifting about at the mercy of the elements, but next day the ship broke her icy bonds, and glided gently down into her own element. For three days after, however, she lay on her beam ends, so that "no one could move about the deck without holding on by the ropes to windward," when on the 14th, suddenly, and before a word could be spoken, the liberated ship righted entirely; "and I know not," says Captain Back, "how many cheers commemorated the occasion."

It need hardly be said, that after this, all haste was made for home, and it is a matter of great astonishment, that the crazy Terror with her gaping wounds, survived to carry her gallant crew, across the stormy waters of the Atlantic. Never did the finger of Providence appear more manifest in the whole of this extraordinary voyage, than when, after the poor sinking ship was run ashore in Lough Swilly, the gale which had been blowing them to their native shores, veered suddenly round to the opposite quarter. Three hours later and the Terror must inevitably have foundered.

It will be remembered that a hundred and sixty miles of sea coast intervened between the furthest point reached by Captain Franklin in his journey of 1825, and that attained by the master of H. M. S. Blossom, who was despatched in boats to meet him from Behring's Strait. This portion of the Arctic shores of the American Continent, remained a blank on the maps, until the labours of two servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, Messrs. Peter Warren Dease, and Thomas Simpson, most successfully traced it, in the year 1837, and thus completed about 60^0 of coast line, which has been solely explored by British hardihood and perseverance.

But the most important journey of these two gentlemen, was performed in the two following years. Departing from Fort Confidence on Great Bear Lake, on the 6th June, 1838, they descended Dease's River; and on the 1st July, pitched their tents at the mouth of the Coppermine. They remained imprisoned here, awaiting the opening of the ice, till the 17th. Their subsequent progress along the coast was one incessant, we may say desperate struggle, with the same cold obdurate foe, in which the boats sustained serious damage, several planks being more than half cut through. On the 29th, they succeeded in doubling Cape Barrow, the north-west point of Bathurst Inlet; the northern part of which, was covered with one solid sheet of ice, and instead of being able to cross over direct to Point Turnagain, they were compelled to make a circuit of one hundred and forty miles, by Arctic Sound.

On one of the group of the Barry Islands several pieces of pure copper-ore were discovered, and those adjacent had every appearance of being strongly impregnated with the same mineral. On the 9th August they doubled Cape Flinders, and in a little bay, three miles to the southward of Franklin's farthest encampment in 1821, the boats were finally arrested by the ice, which encompassed them for twenty-two days!—so different was the season of 1838 from that of 1821, when Captain Franklin found a perfectly open sea there on the 16th August. To advance or retreat with the boats was perfectly impossible, and Mr. Simpson therefore determined to conduct an exploring party on foot for ten days, and accordingly set out with a company of seven men on the 20th August. They carried a wooden-framed canvas canoe and tent, while each man's load at starting was about half a cwt.

On the first day's journey they reached Cape

Franklin, where the coast turned off to the east-north-east, which continued to be its general bearing for the three following days; the ground was low and swampy, and the ice lay immovably attached to the shallow beach, and extended in every direction as far as the eye could reach; while to the northward, high land stretched all along, and caused them to fear that they were only engaged in exploring an immense bay.

These doubts seemed almost converted into certainty as they drew near, on the fourth evening, an elevated cape, and saw land apparently all round. "With feelings of bitter disappointment," says Mr. Simpson, "I ascended the height, from whose summit a splendid and most unlooked-for view suddenly burst upon me. The ocean, as if transformed by enchantment, rolled its free waves beneath; and beyond the reach of vision, to the eastward, islands of various shape and size overspread its surface; and the northern land terminated in a bold and lofty cape bearing north-east, at least forty miles distant, while the coast of the continent trended away to the south-east. I stood, in fact, on a remarkable headland at the eastern entrance of an ice-obstructed strait."

The land to the northward was named after her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and the promontory on which they encamped Cape Alexander, after a brother of Mr. Simpson. The rise and fall of the tide was about three feet, being the greatest observed by Dease and Simpson in the Arctic seas. The coast here changed its character, the water becoming deep, the approach easy, and there appeared but little doubt that good shelter would be found for shipping among the numerous islands. A few miles further Mr. Simpson opened a large bay studded with islands, which ran in for five miles to the south-south-west; but, as it would have taken several days to examine, and as his time of outgoing was expired, and

his men were severely lame, Mr. Simpson decided to return to the boat, which he reached in safety on the 29th, after having had the satisfaction of tracing fully one hundred and twenty miles of coast independently of the shores of Victoria Land.

The boats were cut out of their icy harbour, the grave of one year's hopes, on the 31st August, and re-entered the Coppermine on the 3rd September, ascending which, to the point where it is joined by the Kendall River, they deposited the boats, and, taking their bundles on their backs, traversed the Barren Grounds, and arrived at Fort Confidence in safety on the 14th September.

The following year Dease and Simpson entered on their third trip along the continent, and made very great additions to their already valuable discoveries.

On the 22nd June, 1839, they descended the Coppermine to the Bloody Fall, where they remained until the 28th. This interval was employed in the exploration of Richardson's River, discovered the previous year, which discharges itself into the bottom of Back's Inlet. On the 3rd July they took advantage of the first opening in the ice to commence their voyage, but it cost them a week's hard work to reach Cape Barrow. From its rocky heights they beheld with equal surprise and delight the wide extent of Coronation Gulf partially open, whereas, long after the same date the previous year, the whole party might have crossed it on foot. They landed at Cape Franklin just one month earlier than Mr. Simpson's arrival there on his pedestrian journey. Cape Alexander was not weathered till the 28th owing to a violent easterly gale, which put them in great danger from the heavy drifting ice. From Cape Alexander, situate in latitude 68° 56′ north, longitude 106° 40′ west, to another remarkable point in latitude 68° 33′ north longitude 98° 00′ west: the Arctic coast may

be comprised in one spacious bay stretching as far south as latitude 67° 40′ before it turns off abruptly northward to the last-mentioned position. This vast sweep, of which but an inconsiderable portion was previously seen by Mr. Simpson, is indented by an endless succession of minor bays, separated from one another by long, narrow, projecting points of land, enclosing an incalculable number of islands. "From this description it will be evident that our route was an extremely intricate one, and the duties of the survey most harrassing; but, whilst perplexed beyond measure in finding our way through these labyrinths, we derived great advantage from the protection afforded by the islands from the crushing force of the seaward ice; and the weather was generally clear." White Bear Point, in particular, caused a serious detention. The northerly trending of the coast from the bottom of this great bay caused them to imagine that it would carry them round the Cape Felix of Sir James Ross; but on the 10th August they suddenly opened a strait running to the southward of east, where the rapid rush of the tide scarcely left a doubt of the existence of an open sea leading to the estuary of Back's River. The strait was ten miles wide at either extremity, but contracted to three miles in the centre. On the 12th August the expedition encountered a most terrific thunder-storm. They ran rapidly to the south-east, passing Points Richardson and Ogle of Sir George Back, and, owing to the darkness of the night and increasing gale, drove ashore beyond Point Pechell. On the 16th they reached Montreal Island, and found a *cache* of *pemmican*, &c., deposited there by Sir George Back the very same day five years before!

The arduous object of the voyage was now performed, and the length and difficulty of the route back to the Coppermine would have amply justified

their immediate return, but having already ascertained the separation of Boothia from the American continent, on the western side of Back's River, they determined not to desist till they had settled its relation thereto on the eastern side also. Far to the southward Victoria Headland stood forth so clearly defined that it was instantly recognised through Back's beautiful drawing. On the 17th they reached a high, bold promontory, which was named Cape Britannia; and on the 19th, after crossing a fine bay with great toil and danger, the coast bent away north-east, which enabled them to effect a run of forty miles, but, the wind changing, they were forced to take refuge in a small river, which was the extreme point of the voyage. From a limestone ridge, about a league inland, they obtained a view of some very remote blue land in the north-east quarter, in all probability one of the southern promontories of Boothia. Two considerable islands lay far in the offing, and others, high and distant, stretched from E. to E.N.E.

The view to the eastward apparently displayed a large gulf so uniformly and exactly described by the Esquimaux as *Akholee*. To have attempted to explore it would, under the circumstances, have been, what Mr. Simpson justly terms, "foolhardy," and the admirable little boats were therefore turned towards home. The strong wind that had forbidden their advance gave wings to their retreat; the same night (20th August) they landed once more at Cape Britannia, and next morning crossed direct to Point Pechell with a heavy sea on. After examining a bay to the west of Point Ogle, they crossed over on the 24th, and traced the coast up towards Cape Felix for about sixty miles.

The weather now became very unsettled and threatening: on the 29th August a snow storm began that lasted for seven days during four of which they

were fixed to one spot. They then stood for Victoria Land, and explored its high, bold shore for upwards of one hundred and fifty miles. Often, near the shore, no bottom could be found with thirty-five fathoms of line; and the blue colour of the water everywhere indicated a profound depth:—and at length they reached the extreme point seen by Mr. Simpson from Cape Franklin, in 1838, where the coast begins to trend to the northward of west; Cape Barrow being by computation S.S.W, distant fifty miles.

On the 10th September they crossed Coronation Gulf, and on the 16th re-entered the Coppermine, after by far the longest voyage ever performed in boats on the Polar Sea. Leaving one of their little craft, together with the remains of the *pemmican* (which, through age and long exposure, was become quite mouldy) and various other articles, as a prize to the first Esquimaux who might visit the Bloody Fall, they ascended the river, with their double crew, in four days, abandoning the tents and everything but absolute necessaries, crossed the Barren Grounds up to their knees in snow, having unluckily left their snow-shoes on the coast, and safely reached Fort Confidence at dusk on the 24th September, 1839.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Expedition of Sir John Franklin and Captain Crozier, in 1845, in Search of North-West Passage—Zeal, Patriotism, and Energy of Sir John Franklin's Character—Admiralty Board Instructions—Account of Expedition when Last Seen in Baffin's Bay—Anxiety at Home respecting its Fate.

THE Arctic seas were too eminently a theatre of British enterprise and daring to be long deserted even by those who had experienced the most fearful rigours of the climate. No nation had followed up the subject with anything approaching to the ardour of England. Some of the best and bravest of her gallant sons had sought to subdue the spirits of storm, ice, and fog which ruled with despotic sway over their desolate and solitary dominions; but the struggle always ended in discomfiture, and a veil like that which hid the sources of the river of Egypt, in the burning sand-plains of Africa, still baffled the most energetic endeavours to penetrate into the mysteries beyond it.

In the year 1844 Captain Sir James Clark Ross returned from his brilliant discoveries in the Antarctic seas; and Sir John Barrow, who still held his high official position of Secretary to the Admiralty, thought the opportunity for again resuming geographical research in the northern regions too good to let slip. He therefore submitted a proposition to their lordships and the council of the Royal Society for sending out another expedition, which, as the two ships, Erebus

and Terror, were completely fitted for such a service, he represented might be made at a third of the cost of the voyage from which they had just returned, while the objects to be attained were highly important to the interests of science, more particularly to that of terrestrial magnetism.

Backed by the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Sabine, who stated that such observations would be most desirable, and "that a final attempt to make a North-west Passage would render the most important service that now remained to be performed towards the completion of the magnetic survey of the globe;" the proposal seemed well worthy of attention, and finally, the Erebus and Terror were ordered to be equipped for the voyage, on which they have been absent now nearly five long years. Each was fitted with a small steam-engine and screw-propeller, which, however, on trial did not give a speed of more than three knots an hour.

The selection of a fitting commander for this new enterprise was a matter of no small importance, and fell on the gallant and veteran Sir John Franklin, while Captain Richard Crozier, the able colleague of Sir James Ross in his southern voyage, was appointed to the Terror, as his second.

There is something strikingly noble in the zeal and perseverance with which Franklin has followed up the cause of Arctic Discovery; in his ardent eagerness for the solution of the great problem, it is impossible not to recognise the self same spirit which actuated the Great Admiral against all difficulties to attempt his discovery of that New World which his great mind had already shadowed forth; the same "burning desire" which animated the heart of the youthful Cabot, and has made his name only second, if not equal, to that of Columbus; and the same, we

are proud to say, that has carried a host of our countrymen, whose names are emblazoned on the page of history, to the most distant corners of the earth. Although at an advanced period of life, but just released from all the harrassing duties of a colonial governor, and surrounded by everything the world holds dear, yet he willingly gave them all up for the purpose of advancing his country's glory. He was of opinion, with the estimable and talented hydrographer to the Admiralty, "that it would be an intolerable disgrace to this country were the flag of any other nation to be borne through the North-West Passage before our own." "You know," says Sir John, writing to the friend whose valued opinion we have just quoted—"You know, I am sure, that no service is nearer to my heart than the completion of the survey of the North coast of America, and the accomplishment of a North-West Passage."[1] This was written in February, 1836, when he volunteered to conduct the expedition to Repulse Bay, which was afterwards carried out by Sir George Back; but the same sentiments still animated him in 1845. Sir John Franklin is an excellent example of what singleness of purpose can effect: may he yet return to receive the reward of his noble sacrifice.

The Erebus and Terror, being in every respect fully equipped, sailed from the Thames on the 26th of May, 1845, in company with the transport Barretto Junior, commanded by Lieutenant Griffith, and laden with extra stores, to be discharged in Davis Straits; and, as great interest very naturally attaches to the Instructions he received from the Board of Admiralty, we shall give the substance of them as laid before Parliament in April, 1848, in obedience to an Order of the House of Commons.

[1] Journal of the Geographical Society for 1836, p. 46.

"*By the Commissioners, &c.*

"1. Her Majesty's Government having deemed it expedient that a further attempt should be made for the accomplishment of a north-west passage by sea from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, of which passage a small portion only remains to be completed, we have thought proper to appoint you to the command of the expedition to be fitted out for that service, consisting of H.M.S. Erebus and Terror; and you are hereby required and directed, so soon as the said ships shall be in all respects ready for sea, to proceed forthwith in the Erebus under your command, taking with you H.M.S. Terror, her Captain (Crozier) having been placed by us under your orders, taking also with you the Barretto Junior transport, which has been directed to be put at your disposal for the purpose of carrying out portions of your provisions, clothing, and other stores.

"2. On putting to sea, you are to proceed, in the first place, by such a route as, from the wind and weather, you may deem to be the most suitable for despatch, to Davis' Strait, taking the transport with you to such a distance up that Strait as you may be able to proceed without impediment from ice, being careful not to risk that vessel by allowing her to be beset in the ice, or exposed to any violent contact with it; you will then avail yourself of the earliest opportunity of clearing the transport of the provisions and stores with which she is charged for the use of the expedition, and you are then to send her back to England, giving to the agent or master such directions for his guidance as may appear to you most proper, and reporting by that opportunity your proceedings to our Secretary, for our information.

"3. You will then proceed in the execution of your orders into Baffin's Bay, and get as soon as possible to the western side of the Strait, provided it should ap-

pear to you that the ice chiefly prevails on the eastern side, or near the middle; the object being to enter Lancaster Sound with as little delay as possible; but as no specific directions can be given, owing to the position of the ice varying from year to year, you will, of course, be guided by your own observations as to the course most eligible to be taken, in order to ensure a speedy arrival in the Sound above mentioned.

"4. As, however, we have thought fit to cause each ship to be fitted with a small steam-engine and propeller, to be used only in pushing the ships through channels between masses of ice, when the wind is adverse, or in a calm, we trust the difficulty usually found in such cases will be much obviated; but as the supply of fuel to be taken in the ships is necessarily small, you will use it only in cases of difficulty.

"5. Lancaster Sound, and its continuation through Barrow's Strait, having been four times navigated without any impediment by Sir Edward Parry, and since frequently by whaling ships, will probably be found without any obstacles from ice or islands; and Sir Edward Parry having also proceeded from the latter in a straight course to Melville Island, and returned without experiencing any, or very little difficulty, it is hoped that the remaining portion of the passage, about 900 miles, to Behring's Strait may also be found equally free from obstruction; and in proceeding to the westward, therefore, you will not stop to examine any openings either to the northward or southward in that Strait, but continue to push to the westward without loss of time, in the latitude of about $74\frac{1}{4}^{0}$, till you have reached the longitude of that portion of land on which Cape Walker is situated, or about 98^{0} west. From that point we desire that every effort be used to endeavour to penetrate to the southward and westward in a course as direct towards Behring's Strait as the position and extent of the ice,

or the existence of land, at present unknown, may admit...

"6. We direct you to this particular part of the Polar Sea as affording the best prospect of accomplishing the passage to the Pacific, in consequence of the unusual magnitude and apparently fixed state of the barrier of ice observed by the Hecla and Griper, in the year 1820, off Cape Dundas, the south-western extremity of Melville Island; and we therefore consider that loss of time would be incurred in renewing the attempt in that direction; but should your progress in the direction before ordered be arrested by ice of a permanent appearance, and that when passing the mouth of the Strait, between Devon and Cornwallis Islands, you had observed that it was open and clear of ice; we desire that you will duly consider, with reference to the time already consumed, as well as to the symptoms of a late or early close of the season, whether that channel might not offer a more practicable outlet from the Archipelago, and a more ready access to the open sea, where there would be neither islands nor banks to arrest and fix the floating masses of ice; and if you should have advanced too far to the south-westward to render it expedient to adopt this new course before the end of the present season, and if, therefore, you should have determined to winter in that neighbourhood, it will be a matter for your mature deliberation whether in the ensuing season you would proceed by the above-mentioned Strait, or whether you would persevere to the south-westward, according to the former directions.

"7. You are well aware, having yourself been one of the intelligent travellers who have traversed the American shore of the Polar Sea, that the groups of islands that stretch from that shore to the northward to a distance not yet known, do not extend to the westward further than about the 120th degree of

western longitude, and that beyond this, and to Behring's Strait, no land is visible from the American shore of the Polar Sea.

[8. Should he be so fortunate as to accomplish the Passage, he was to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, and afterwards land an officer at Panama, with despatches.]

[9. Care to be taken to find a good wintering place, and guard against surprise from the Esquimaux; also to employ them to convey intelligence to Hudson's Bay Settlements.]

"10. In an undertaking of this description, much must be always left to the discretion of the commanding officer; and, as the objects of this expedition have been fully explained to you, and you have already had much experience on service of this nature, we are convinced we cannot do better than leave it to your judgment.

[11, 12. Caution not to let the vessels separate, and to keep up constant communication with Captain Crozier.]

[13, 14, 15. Valuable instruments and portable observatory put on board, and great advantage expected to be derived from scientific observations by the officers.]

[16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Scientific observations pointed out, and, as a possible means of communication, after passing the latitude of 65° N., bottles to be thrown overboard, containing an account of the proceedings of the expedition.]

[21. In event of accident happening to either of the two ships, Sir John to remove crew of disabled ship to the other, and proceed on prosecution of voyage or return, as may appear necessary. In event of any fatal accident to Commander, Captain Crozier to assume chief command.]

[22. To take every opportunity of communicating

with the Secretary to the Admiralty, and on arrival in England to demand from officers all logs, journals, drawings, &c.]

[23. Usual clause relative to England becoming engaged in hostilities during absence.]

"Given under our hands, this 5th day of May, 1845.

(*Signed*) "HADDINGTON,
"G. COCKBURN,
"W. H. GAGE.

"*To Sir John Franklin, K.C.H.,*
"*Captain of H.M.S. Erebus, at Woolwich.*

"By command of their Lordships.

(*Signed*) "W. A. B. HAMILTON."

Sir John Franklin was last seen by the whaler, Prince of Wales, on the 26th July, in latitude 74° 48' north, longitude 66° 13' west, moored to an iceberg, and waiting for an opening in the great body of ice which fills the middle of Baffin's Bay, in order to reach the entrance of Lancaster Sound. Up to that moment all hands were well, in high spirits, and determined to succeed if success were possible. "We left them," says Lieutenant Griffith, "with every species of provisions for three entire years, independently of five bullocks. They had also stores of every description for the same time, and fuel in abundance." Since that day they have never been heard of; and for the last two years an universal anxiety has been felt which does high honour to the English nation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SEARCHING EXPEDITIONS.

Three Expeditions sent out in Search of Sir J. Franklin—the first under Captain Kellett and Commander Moore—the second conducted by Sir John Richardson and Dr. Rae—the third under Sir Jas. C. Ross—their respective Instructions—Letter from Sir J. C. Ross—Board of Admiralty convoke a Meeting for Consultation—Stores sent out by North Star to Sir J. C. Ross to enable him to stay another Year—Reward offered by Lady Franklin and the Admiralty—News of Missing Expedition brought home by Whaler—Stores Sent Out by Lady Franklin, and Deposited at Cape Hay—Return of Sir J. C. Ross and Account of Voyage—Means Employed to attain its end—Progress and Proceedings—Winter Harbourage—Ill Health of Crew—Foxes Caught and Released with Collars Bearing Engraven Intelligence—Expeditions and Surveys—Sufferings of the Party—Magnetic Observations—Death of Assistant Surgeon—Sawing Canal through Ice—Ships Leakage—Drifting of Ship in Vast Field of Ice—Liberation—Arrival at home.

In the beginning of the year 1848, it was considered that the time had arrived when it became necessary to send out in search of the missing adventurers; and the Government, with great promptitude, determined on three several expeditions. The first was to endeavour to enter the Polar Sea from the western gate, or entrance, of Behrings Straits; the second was to descend the Mackenzie River, and examine the sea coast as far as the Coppermine; and the third was to proceed through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Straits, in a direct course to the westward; and the whole plan had the appearance of being such a well-adjusted scheme that great hopes were entertained of its ultimate success.

Accordingly, the Plover, surveying vessel, was

commissioned by Commander Thomas E. L. Moore, and sailed from Sheerness on the 1st January, 1848, to join the Herald, 26 guns, Captain Henry Kellett, C.B., at Panama, in company with whom he was to proceed (provided no intelligence had been received) to Petropoulowski, to procure interpreters, &c. They were then to proceed to Behring's Straits, where they were to arrive by the 1st July, and along the American coast, as far as practicable, to endeavour to find a secure harbour for the Plover during the winter. Two whale boats, or the Russian *baidar*, were then to continue the search further along the coast, and to communicate, if possible, with the party who were to descend the Mackenzie River, under the command of Sir John Richardson.

So soon as the symptoms of winter approached, the boats were to return to the Plover, which ship, being provided with fuel and provisions from the Herald, was to house-in, and make all snug for the winter. The Herald was then to return to the south to give notice of their proceedings and resume her surveying duties.

With the assistance of the natives, whose friendship for this purpose it was very desirable to cultivate, during next spring small exploring parties were to be sent in every possible and practicable direction, and as soon as the water had formed along the coast the boats were again to be despatched in order to communicate with Sir John Richardson.

Sir John Richardson's instructions directed him to leave England on the 25th March by the mail steamer for New York, in company with Dr. John Rae,[1]

[1] This latter gentleman, in July, 1846, conducted an important expedition sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company, consisting of thirteen persons, from Fort Churchill in Hudson's Bay, to the head of Repulse Bay; and from thence across the Isthmus which connects Melville Peninsula with the north-eastern angle of the American continent, along the western

and to proceed immediately to Montreal, for the purpose of conferring and making arrangements with Sir George Simpson, the territorial governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. Next, to travel to Penetanguishene, on Lake Huron, and thence by steamer to Sault St. Marie, at the Fort of Lake Superior, there to embark in a canoe to be provided in readiness by the Hudson's Bay Company, and to follow the usual route by Fort William, Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winipeg, and the Saskatchewan River; and it was hoped they would overtake the five boats provided for the expedition, under the charge of Mr. Bell, chief trader to the Company, in July, 1848, somewhere near Isle à la Crosse, or Methy Portage.

The canoe was then to return, and Sir John was to hasten on with four boats to the mouth of the Mackenzie, leaving Mr. Bell to follow with the heavier baggage in the barge. Mr. Bell was to turn off at Great Bear Lake, and erect his winter residence at Fort Confidence, establish fisheries, and send out hunters. The examination of the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine was then to go forward, which it was thought would probably occupy thirty days; but it was very probable that they would not be able to keep the sea later than the 15th September, as from the beginning of that month the young ice covers the surface of the water during the night, presenting a very serious impediment to the boats. Should they reach the sea about

shore of Committee Bay, (the "Akkoolee" of the intelligent Iligliuk), as far north as the "Lord Mayor's Bay" of Sir John Ross. Returning to Repulse Bay, where he had taken up his winter quarters in a skin-covered house named Fort Hope, Dr. Rae again started, on the 13th May, to trace the western shore of Melville Peninsula, and after surveying it, at a great expense of personal suffering, to within a few miles of the Fury and Hecla Straits, returned to Fort Hope, after an absence of twenty-seven days.

the first week in August, it was hoped that they would be enabled to make the complete voyage, and also to coast part of the western and southern shores of Wollaston Land. If, from various causes, the expedition was prevented from arriving on the shores of the Polar Sea until too late to reach the Coppermine, it was to return to Fort Good Hope, on the Mackenzie, there deposit two of the boats, with all the sea stores, and proceed with the other two boats and the whole of the crews to winter quarters on Great Bear Lake.

Deposits of *pemmican* were to be made at Point Separation, Cape Bathurst, Cape Parry, and Cape Krusenstern, and also at Fort Good Hope, for the use of a party which Sir James Clark Ross purposed sending there in the spring of 1849, who were not to return to the ships, but ascend the Mackenzie.

The instructions desire that the search by Sir John Richardson was not to be prolonged after the winter of 1849, which was to be passed on Great Slave Lake; but, at the earliest practical moment after the breaking up of the weather in the spring of 1850, steps were to be taken for the return of the party to England.

Sir John Richardson was directed to bury bottles in the circumference of a circle with a ten feet radius, from the point of a broad arrow painted on the signal post—at Point Separation, at the head of the Delta of the Mackenzie, in latitude 67° 38′ north longitude 133° 52′ west; on Whale Island, at the mouth of the Mackenzie; on Point Toker, in latitude 69° 38′ north longitude 132° 15′ west; on Cape Bathurst, latitude 70° 31′ north; and on Cape Parry, latitude 70° 5′ north. The landmarks were to be painted white or red, or with black stripes.

On the 12th June, 1848 the last of the three, though perhaps the most important searching expe-

dition, left our shores under the command of Captain Sir James Clark Ross, composed of two magnificent ships, the Enterprise of four hundred and seventy tons, and seventy men, ; and the Investigator, Captain E. J. Bird, four hundred and twenty tons, and seventy men—both ships as strong as it was possible for wood and iron to make them, and furnished with all the appliances of science.

By Captain Ross's urgent request, the ships were provided each with a launch[1] fitted with a small engine and screw, in preference to having that machinery fitted to the ships, as was adopted with the Erebus and Terror.

The route was to be direct to Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Straits, through which they were to penetrate due west, narrowly searching both shores, and, should the weather permit, a similar search was to be extended to the shores of the Wellington Channel. The next point to be examined was the coast between Capes Clarence and Walker, all which, it was hoped would be accomplished during the first season. The coast of North Somerset is usually encumbered with heavy ice, therefore both ships were to proceed very cautiously, so as not to hazard being shut up for the winter. If a harbour was found near Garnier Bay, or Cape Rennell, they were there to secure the Investigator for the winter, and from this point she was to explore the coast as far as it extended to the west, and also the western coast of North Somerset and Boothia, as far as Cape Nicolai; while another party were to proceed to the southward, and ascertain whether the blank space there shown on our charts, consisted of an open sea through which

[1] These boats were twelve tons burthen each; extreme length, 31½ feet; breadth, 9 feet 7 inches; depth, 5 feet 10½ inches; draft of water with machinery, 1 foot 7½ inches; weight of boat, 3½ tons; weight of boiler and machinery, 3¼ tons; average speed on river, 11 miles an hour.

Sir John Franklin might have passed, or of a continuous chain of islands, among which he might still be blocked up. In the summer of 1849 the steam-launch was to be despatched to Lancaster Sound, in order to meet the whale-ships, which usually visit the western side of Baffin's Bay at that time, and by whom further instructions were to be sent out from England.

Meantime, the Enterprise having left her consort for the winter, was to push on to the westward, and endeavour to reach Winter Harbour, or Banks' Land, as circumstances might admit. From this position parties were to be started in all directions to discover traces of Sir John Franklin. One was to determine the general shape of the western face of Banks' Land, and was then to proceed direct to Cape Bathurst, or Cape Parry, on the main, and so on to Fort Good Hope, where directions for their future guidance were to be left by Sir John Richardson. Another party was to explore the eastern coast of Banks' Land, and from thence to Cape Krusenstern, where, or at Cape Hearne, a *caché* of *pemmican* was to be made for Sir John Richardson, under whose orders this party was afterwards to place itself.

By a letter from Sir James Clark Ross, dated from the Danish settlement at Uppernawick, the 12th July, 1848, the Lords of the Admiralty learnt his intention to send home the Investigator, if, after passing the second winter at or near Port Leopold, she should receive no tidings of Franklin and his party by the whalers which would leave England in March, 1849, thus leaving the Enterprise to prosecute the search alone.

Their Lordships, on requesting the opinions of those who were best qualified to judge of the consequences of such a step, found, that if such a resolve was carried into effect, it might prove most detrimental to the objects of the expedition.

At a meeting held on the 17th January, 1849, at which were present, Admiral Sir F. Beaufort, the Rev. Dr. Scoresby, Colonel Sabine, R.A., Captain Sir W. E. Parry, R.N., Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., Captain Sir G. Back, R.N., and Captain Sir E. Belcher, R.N., &c., it was given as their unanimous opinion that, as the expedition had not reached the entrance to Lancaster Sound until the 28th August, 1848, after which the navigation would be open only for a few days, it was highly probable they would be obliged to winter near together, instead of the Investigator, as was intended, finding a harbour about Cape Rennell, and the Enterprise one at Winter Harbour, or Banks' Land; the consequences of leaving one ship to perform so hazardous a service alone, might therefore prove highly unsafe.

It was therefore strongly recommended that a vessel with stores should be despatched, at the latest, by the 15th May, so as to enable the Investigator to continue the search for another year, and that imperative instructions should be given to Sir James Ross, to make a strict search in Wellington Channel and its neighbourhood, since it was known that Sir John Franklin attached very great importance to that opening, in case of his failing to push on to the southward and westward. Acting on these suggestions, the North Star was ordered to be fitted, with the least possible delay, and sailed on the 16th May, 1849. The orders to her commander, Mr. Saunders, were, to proceed at once to Lancaster Sound, and keeping a bright look-out for the Investigator, or her boats, to endeavour to reach Whaler Point, at the entrance of Port Leopold, or, if that place was not attainable, either Capes York, Craufurd, or Hay, or Possession Bay; after the completion of this service, and if time still remained, the North Star was to run up to the head of Baffin's Bay, and examine the great sounds there; but on no account was her commander

to hazard a winter in the ice. This vessel was last seen on the 19th July, in lat. 74° 3′ N., long. 59° 40′ W., off the Devil's Point; but, as she has not returned, and was not seen by any of the whalers who, in August last, were off Cape Hay, or by either of the ships she was sent out to relieve, it is probable that her commander, if he has succeeded at all in entering the sound, has, in his zeal, been led to push to the westward, and becoming involved, has been forced to winter.

In addition to the sending out of the transport, the Admiralty, in March, offered a reward of 20,000*l.* (to which Lady Franklin added 3000*l.*) to such ship or ships, or to any exploring party or parties, of any country, as should, in their Lordships' judgment, render efficient assistance to Sir John Franklin, his ships, or their crews, or who might contribute directly to extricate them from the ice, directing attention particularly to Smith's and Jones's Sounds in Baffin's Bay, Regent's Inlet, and the Gulf of Boothia, and especially to the Wellington Channel. Unfortunately, however, this announcement came too late for the whalers, who had already sailed, and even if the news had reached them at their fishing grounds, they would have been quite unprepared for the risk which they must necessarily run in such an adventure.

Things were in this state, and men began to look anxiously to the arrivals from the whale fishery, when, in the beginning of October, a sealed bottle was brought home, which had been picked up in Davis Strait, and great was the anxiety to know its contents:—it turned out, however, to be only a memorandum written by Captain Fitzjames, dated the 30th June, 1845, and, consequently, a month anterior to letters which had been before received by their Lordships.

Scarcely had the anxious hopes thus raised been

crushed, before some news arrived by the whaler True Love, which, at first, seemed to throw a sudden light on the lost expedition. The captain of this vessel (Parker) had fallen in with a brother whaler, Captain Kerr, of the Chieftain, at Ponds Bay, who told him that, on the first arrival of the Chieftain at that place, an Esquimaux came on board, and, *without questioning*, drew a rough sketch, representing four vessels beset in the ice, in an inlet, which was understood, from the description of the number of days' journey from Ponds Bay, to be Regent's Inlet. The Esquimaux stated that two of the ships had been frozen up on the west side of the inlet for four years, and the other two on the east side for one year. The True Love and the Chieftain made an attempt to verify this report, and reach the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet, but on the 5th August they were stopped by a solid body of ice, stretching across Lancaster Sound, from Admiralty Inlet to Croker's Bay, and they were obliged to return.

Captain Parker landed a cask of preserved meat, and thirty bags of coal, (which had been sent out by Lady Franklin) upon Cape Hay, and arriving home before his comrade, immediately communicated this information to the Admiralty, which was afterwards confirmed by Captain Kerr. But though "hope told a flattering tale," when the evidence, on which the report was founded, came to be examined, it was found to be full of discrepancies. First, the alleged position of the ships was too near the fishing grounds of the whalers, to escape notice; and secondly, it was highly improbably, but that Franklin would have either made use of the Esquimaux, to convey intelligence of his whereabouts to Ponds Bay, or have despatched a party across the land, a distance of only two hundred miles, for that purpose; whilst the Admiralty Instructions, positively ordered that the

steam launch of the Investigator, was to be sent in the summer of 1849, to the entrance of Lancaster Sound, to meet the whalers. The whole matter however, is proved to have been a fabrication, by the recent return of Sir James Ross, who, unexpectedly, arrived off Scarborough, on the 3rd of November last, and made an official report of his unsuccessful search, to the Lords of the Admiralty, of which the following are the principal details.

"In accordance with the intentions expressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty in my letter of the 13th July, 1848, Her Majesty's ships Enterprise and Investigator sailed on that day from the Danish settlement of Upernavik.

"Running through an intricate archipelago of islands, which lies off the mainland, on the 20th, we made fast to a berg aground off Cape Shackleton.

"Here we were joined by the Lord Gambier (of Hull), Mr. R. Hill, master, who informed me that, having run to the southward with all the rest of the whaling-ships, and having carefully examined the pack edge for any opening that might lead them to the westward, he had come to the conclusion that there was not the smallest chance, from the close, compact, and heavy nature of the ice, for any ship crossing to the west coast of Baffin's Bay this season. He had, therefore, returned to the north, and expected that all the other ships would soon follow him, and endeavour to round the north end of the pack; he spoke very confidently of being able to accomplish this by the first week of August, and promised, at any rate, to remain in company with us until the 3rd August. We cast off from the berg early the next morning, towing the ships through loose streams of ice, towards some lanes of water, which had opened out during the calm, which prevailed all night. Our progress was, however, very slow during this and the

next few days, and our situation often difficult and embarrassing.

"On the morning of the 26th, when off the Three Islands of Baffin, in latitude 74° north, we were surprised, on the fog clearing off, to see the Lord Gambier about eight miles distant, standing under all sail to the southward, thus disappointing us of the only remaining means of forwarding information of our proceedings to their Lordships.

"We pursued our course to the northward, under varying circumstances of perplexity, anxiety, and success; for, although I could not but feel assured that we should eventually get through the Melville Bay barrier, yet calms and light winds so greatly impeded any movement in the pack, that day after day passed away until the season had so far advanced as to preclude every hope of accomplishing much, if anything, before the setting in of winter.

"No exertions, however, were spared to take advantage of every opportunity of pushing the ships forward, until on the 20th August, during a heavy breeze from the north-east, the ships, under all sail, bored through a pack of ice of but moderate thickness, but having amongst it heavy masses through which it was necessary to drive the ships at all hazards. The shocks they sustained during this severe trial were great, but fortunately without serious damage to them.

"We gained the clear water at 4 p. m. in latitude 75½° north, and longitude 68° west, and steered direct for Pond's Bay, where I felt assured of meeting with the whale-ships, if any should have crossed to the west land, and might learn from them if the Erebus and Terror, or their party in boats, had passed along that shore, and also with a view to communicate with the Esquimaux who annually visit the coast, and from whom we might have derived information of our absent friends.

"On the 23rd, we made the land about ten miles to the southward of Pond's Bay, and could trace the line of the main pack close in against the land, at a distance of three or four miles to the southward, so closely pressed home, as to leave no room for ships or boats to pass between it and the shore. We next stood into Pond's Bay, and hove to, within half a mile of those points upon which the Esquimaux are known to place their summer residences, firing guns every half-hour, and with our glasses closely examining every part of the shore without being able to discern any human being.

"From Pond's Bay we commenced a rigid examination of the coast to the northward, keeping the ships close in along the land, so that neither people nor boats could have passed without our seeing them. Opposed by a strong current, although going before the wind between two and three knots through the water, we found, by the result of all our observations, as well as by unerring marks on the land, that we were sometimes carried astern against the wind.

"On the 26th, we arrived off Possession Bay, and a party was sent on shore to search for any traces of the expedition having touched at this general point of rendezvous. Nothing was found but the paper left there, recording the visit of Sir Edward Parry in 1819. From this point we continued the examination of the coast with equal care, for we fully expected every hour to see those of whom we were in search, and the most vigilant look out was kept aloft and from the deck.

"On the 1st September, we arrived off Cape York, and a party was sent on shore, under very difficult circumstances, to seek for our friends, and to fix a conspicuous mark at this remarkable point, on which was placed a paper for the guidance of any party that might fall in with it.

"Every day we were in the practice of throwing

overboard, a cask from each ship, containing papers of information of all our proceedings; guns were fired during foggy weather, and blue lights and rockets during the hours of darkness, the ships being kept under such easy sail, that any boat seeing the signals might have reached them.

"The general tenor of the information thus distributed along the coast, was to acquaint Sir John Franklin, that as the whale-ships had not been able to cross to the west land of Baffin's Bay, they could have no hope of assistance from them, and recommending them to make for Port Leopold, where I intended to form a depôt of provisions, and perhaps leave the Investigator to winter there; they would, at any rate, with the provisions, find a notice of the position in which the nearer ship was passing the winter. It therefore became necessary to push for Port Leopold to fulfil these promises.

"We accordingly stood over from Cape York towards North-East Cape, until we came in with the edge of a pack, too dense for us to penetrate, lying between us and Leopold Island, about 14 miles broad; but, as we could perceive that it was still in motion, we hoped that a few days might produce a favourable change, and in the meantime, we stood over to the north shore of Barrow's Strait, to seek a harbour further to the westward, and to examine the numerous inlets of that shore. Maxwell Bay and several smaller indentations were thoroughly explored, and, although we got near the entrance of Wellington Chanel, the firm barrier of ice which stretched across it, and which had not broken away this season, convinced us all was impracticable in that direction.

"We now stood to the south-west, to seek for a harbour near Cape Rennell, but found a heavy body of ice extending from the west of Cornwallis Island, in a compact mass to Leopold Island. Coasting along this pack during stormy and foggy weather, we had

difficulty in keeping the ships free during the nights, for I believe so great a quantity of ice was never before seen in Barrow's Strait at this period of the season.

"With the thermometer at 15° every night, young ice formed rapidly and became so thick as to frustrate all our exertions to pass through some of the looser streams. Nevertheless, after some days of anxious and arduous work, we succeeded in getting through the pack, which still lingered about Leopold Island and North-East Cape, and entered the harbour of Port Leopold on the 11th September. Had we not got into port on that day, it would have been impossible to have done so any day afterwards, the main pack, during the night, having closed the land, and completely sealed the mouth of the harbour.

"We had now, at any rate, accomplished one material point, and were rejoiced to find the anchorage, of which we had before been in much doubt, well adapted to our purpose, and I resolved, that it should be the winter quarters for the Investigator.

"I had much satisfaction the next morning to find how perfectly our steam-launch fulfilled our expectations in an experimental cruise about the harbour, before proceeding in her to the westward in search of a harbour for the Enterprise, as it was now beyond probability, from the early setting in of winter, and from the unbroken state of the ice, to reach Melville Island this season. The pack at the harbour's mouth, however, still prevented our immediate departure, and all our energies were devoted to landing a good supply of provisions upon Whaler Point. In this service the steam launch proved of infinite value, conveying a large cargo herself, and towing two deeply laden cutters, at the rate of four or five knots, through the sheet of ice which now covered the harbour, and through which no boat unaided by steam could have penetrated beyond her own length.

"On the evening of the 12th October, the ships were hove into their winter position, within two hundred yards of each other.

"I was indeed most anxious to have taken the Enterprise to some distance to the westward, but the pack, which sealed the harbour's mouth the night after we entered it, never admitted a chance of even a boat making her way out; and across the isthmus, as far as we could discern from the hills, the same extensive mass of heavy, hummocky ice, which we had coasted along in search of an opening in the early part of September, was still pressed closely home against the north shore of North Somerset, and remained fixed there throughout the winter; so that if the Enterprise had been able to get out of the harbour, she could not have proceeded far, and would most likely have been compelled either to pass the winter in the pack, or to have returned to England, and thus have defeated all prospective measures for the assistance of our long absent friends.

"Although I could not but feel extreme disappointment at the small advance we had made during our first season, yet we had much to be thankful for in having been permitted to gain secure winter quarters at Port Leopold, a position that of all others was the most desirable, if any one spot had to be selected for that purpose; being at the junction of the four great channels of Barrow's Strait, Lancaster Sound, Prince Regent Inlet, and Wellington Channel, it was hardly possible for any party, after abandoning their ships, to pass along the shores of any of those inlets, without finding indications of the proximity of our expedition.

"The winter was passed as are all winters in this climate, but long experience and liberal means, gave us many comforts that no other expedition had enjoyed; yet it is remarkable that the health of the crew suffered more during this winter, than on any former occasion. Our want of success might have

tended in some measure to depress their spirits, and, unfortunately, the cold of winter was prolonged unusually far into the spring before we could give them more active employment.

"During the winter a great many white foxes were taken alive, in traps set for the purpose; and, as it is well known how large a track of country these creatures traverse in search of food, I caused copper collars, upon which a notice of the position of the ships and depôts of provisions was engraved, to be clinched round their necks, and then set them at liberty again, with the hope that some of these messengers might be the means of conveying the intelligence to the Erebus and Terror, as the crews of those vessels would assuredly be eager for their capture.

"After several short preliminary journeys, in April and the early part of next month, to carry out small depôts of provisions to the W. of Cape Clarence and to the S. of Cape Seppings, I left the ships on the 15th May with a party consisting of Lieut. M'Clintock and twelve men, with forty days' provision, which, together with tents, clothes, blankets, and other necessaries, were lashed upon two sledges. We were accompanied for the first five days of our journey by Captain Bird, in command of a large fatigue party, which increased our numbers to forty-two.

"A detailed account of this journey may be found in my journal; it may be sufficient here to mention, that the examination of all the inlets and smaller indentations of the coast, in which any ships might have found shelter, occupied a large portion of our time, and cost us much labour; but it was necessary that every portion of the coast we passed along should be thoroughly explored.

"The N. shore of N. Somerset trends slightly to the northward of west, until after passing the extreme North Cape of America, a few miles beyond Cape

Rennell; from this point it trends slightly to the southward of west, until after rounding Cape Bunny, when it suddenly assumes a nearly south direction.

"From the high land in the neighbourhood of Cape Bunny we obtained a very extensive view, and observed that the whole space between it and Cape Walker to the west, and Wellington Channel to the north, was occupied by very heavy hummocky ice, whilst to the southward it appeared more favourable for travelling; I therefore determined not to divide the party, as I had originally intended, until we should find a more practicable point for their exertions.

"We therefore proceeded to the S., tracing all the indentations of the coast, when our progress became much delayed by several of the party becoming useless from lameness and debility, so that it proved most fortunate that I had not divided the force, which could only, under such circumstances, have terminated in the complete failure of both; for, although the load of provisions was every day becoming less, the necessity of carrying two of the sufferers on the sledges, and the loss of the services of three others, who had scarcely strength to walk behind, greatly increased the labour of the few who were now able to work.

"The examination of the coast was pursued until the 5th June, when, having consumed more than half our provisions, and the strength of the party being much reduced, I was reluctantly compelled to abandon further operations, as it was, moreover, necessary to give the men a day of rest. But, that the time might not be wholly lost, I proceeded with two hands to the extreme south point in sight from our encampment, distant about eight or nine miles.

"The extreme point of our operations is in lat. 72° 38 N., and long. 95° 40' W. It is the west point of a small high peninsula, and, the state of the atmosphere being at the time peculiarly favourable for dis-

tinctness of vision, land of any great elevation might have been seen at the distance of one hundred miles.

"The extreme high cape of the coast, however, was not more than fifty miles distant, still bearing nearly south,[2] the land thus trending for Cape Nicolai.

"We observed several small bays and inlets between us and the southernmost cape, of whose continuity we could not be assured at so great a distance, yet they are marked on the chart which accompanies this account of our proceedings, by which it will be perceived that a very narrow isthmus separates Prince Regent Inlet from the western sea at Cresswell and Brentford Bays.

"On our return to the encampment I found they had all been well occupied during our absence. Lieut. M'Clintock had taken some magnetic observations, which will be of great value, from our being so near to the Magnetic Pole. Two of the party had cut through the ice, which they found to be eight feet thick, and fixed a pole, by which the state of the tides was ascertained; and all the rest that could work had erected a large cairn of stones on a high knoll just above the tents, in which a copper cylinder was placed, containing an account of our proceedings, and all necessary information for the guidance of any of Sir John Franklin's party that might be journeying along this coast.

"Although our resources did not admit of any further perseverance on our part, we could not but feel some satisfaction in the assurance, that if those of whom we were in search had at any time been upon the N. or W. coast of North Somerset, we must have met with some traces of them. The season for travelling in these regions had also passed away, the thaw having commenced; and, had they abandoned their ships at Melville Island, they must have arrived

[2] The bearings herein given are true.

on either of these shores long before this time, where they would have found us in the best possible position to render them assistance, and conduct them to our vessels.

"We set forward on our homeward journey on the 6th June; and, after encountering a variety of difficulties, reached the ship on the 23rd, the party so completely worn out by fatigue, that every man was, from some cause or other, in the doctor's hands for two or three weeks.

"I was greatly grieved to hear of the decease of Mr. Henry Matthias, the assistant-surgeon of the Enterprise, of consumption, which had been deeply rooted in his constitution before leaving England. Several others of the crews of both ships were in a declining state, and the general report of health was by no means cheering.

"During my absence Captain Bird had despatched parties in several directions—one, under the command of Lieut. Barnard, to the north shore of Barrow's Strait; a second, commanded by Lieut. Browne, to the east shore of Prince Regent Inlet; and a third, conducted by Lieut. Robinson, along the western shore of that inlet. The labours of these parties were of comparatively short duration; still they, like ourselves, all suffered from snow blindness, sprained ancles, and debility, especially that under Lieut. Robinson, who extended his examination of the coast for several miles to the southward of Fury Beach.

"Although it was now but too evident, from no traces of the absent expedition having been met with by any of these parties, that the ships could not have been detained anywhere in this part of the Arctic regions, yet I considered it proper to push forward to the westward as soon as our ships should be liberated from their winter harbour. My chief hopes now centred in the efforts of Sir John Richardson's party;

but I felt fully persuaded that Sir John Franklin's ships must have penetrated so far beyond Melville Island, as to induce him to prefer making for the continent of America, rather than seeking assistance from the whale ships in Baffin's Bay.

"Our crews, weakened by incessant exertion, were in a very unfit state to undertake the heavy labour which they had yet to accomplish. The season at this place was so extremely backward, that hardly a pool of water was to be seen on the surface of ice which covered the harbour, except only along the line of gravel which had been spread out towards the harbour's mouth during the winter, and there appeared but small prospect of any release this season.

"All hands that were able, commenced with saws, extending the breadth of the canal so much as to admit the ships to pass down it towards the point of the harbour, a distance of rather more than two miles. These labours were continued until the 15th August, when the canal was nearly finished; but the ice to seaward remained, to all appearance, as firmly fixed as during the winter, though we could perceive it was wasting away close along the shores, and it was not until the 28th August that we succeeded in getting clear of the harbour.

"Before leaving Port Leopold I had caused a house to be built of our spare spars, and covered with such of our housing cloths as we could dispense with, and for which we could find a substitute if needful, leaving also twelve months' provisions, fuel, and other necessaries, together with the Investigator's steam-engine and launch, which had been lengthened seven feet for the purpose, and now formed a fine vessel, capable of conveying the whole of Sir John Franklin's party to the whale ships.

"We now proceeded towards the N. shore of Barrow's Strait, for the purpose of following up the

examination of Wellington Channel, and, if possible, of extending our researches as far as Melville Island; but when about twelve miles from the shore we came to the fixed land ice, which had not broken away this season, and nothing but an uniform sheet of heavy ice was to be seen to the westward.

" We kept the ships near that which appeared to be the most probable spot, watching for any opening that might present itself, when, a strong wind suddenly arising on the 1st September, brought the loose pack, through which we had been struggling, down upon and it closely beset the ships. At times, during two or three days, they sustained severe pressure, and ridges of hummocks were thrown up all around us, but after that time, the temperature falling to near zero, it formed the whole body of the ice into one solid mass. We were so circumstanced that for some days we could not unship the rudder, and when, by the laborious operation of sawing and removing the hummocks from under the stern, we were able to do so, we found it twisted and damaged, and the ship was so much strained, as to increase the leakage from three inches in a fortnight to fourteen inches daily.

" The ice was stationary for a few days; the pressure had so folded the lighter pieces over each other, and they were so interlaced, as to form one entire sheet, extending from shore to shore of Barrow's Strait, and as far to the E. and W. as the eye could discern from the masthead, whilst the extreme severity of the temperature had cemented the whole so firmly together, that it appeared highly improbable that it could break up again this season. In the space which had been cleared away for unshipping the rudder the newly-formed ice was fifteen inches thick, and in some places along the ship's side the thirteen feet saws were too short to work.

" We had now fully made up our minds that the

ships were fixed for the winter, and, dismal as the prospect appeared, it was far preferable to being carried along the west coast of Baffin's Bay, where the grounded bergs are in such numbers upon the shallow banks off that shore, as to render it next to impossible for ships involved in a pack to escape destruction.

"It was, therefore, with a mixture of hope and anxiety that, on the wind shifting to the westward, we perceived the whole body of ice begin to drive to the eastward, at the rate of eight to ten miles daily. Every effort on our part was totally unavailing, for no human power could have moved either of the ships a single inch; they were thus completely taken out of our hands, and, in the centre of a field of ice more than fifty miles in circumference, were carried along the southern shore of Lancaster Sound.

"After passing its entrance the ice drifted in a more southerly direction, along the west shore of Baffin's Bay, until we were abreast of Pond's Bay, to the southward of which we observed a great number of icebergs stretching across our path, and presenting the fearful prospect of our worst anticipations. But, when least expected by us, our release was almost miraculously brought about. The great field of ice was rent into innumerable fragments, as if by some unseen power.

"Hope revived, and our people worked with energy; all sail was made, and warps run out from each quarter, to spring the ships past the heavy floe pieces. The Investigator reached an open space of water on the evening of the 24th, but it was not until noon of the 25th September that the Enterprise could clear the pack. It is impossible to convey any idea of the sensation we experienced, when we found ourselves once more at liberty, whilst many a grateful heart poured fourth its praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for this unlooked-for deliverance.

"The advance of winter had now closed all the

harbours against us; and, as it was impossible to penetrate to the westward through the pack from which we had just been liberated, I made the signal to the Investigator of my intention to return to England.

"Standing to the S. E., we came in with the middle ice of Baffin's Bay, within a few miles of the land, and were obliged, in order to make our retreat the more sure, to run along its western edge to the N. E., until we reached the lat. 74¾° N., where we rounded its north end, on the 4th October, in sight of the coast of Greenland.

"Favoured by unusually fine weather as we proceeded to the southward, we passed without any accident through the great cluster of bergs, which is always found in lat. 69° N., and on the 12th, we recrossed the Arctic Circle, after which time we saw no more ice.

"Strong westerly winds carried us past the meridian of Cape Farewell on the 18th, and at 1 A. M. of the 28th we struck soundings off Mould Head. At daylight we found ourselves in the Fairway between North Ronaldshay and Fair Island, but a southerly wind so impeded our further progress, that it was late on Saturday night before we could anchor off Scarborough.

"I arrived at the Admiralty early on Monday, the 5th November.

"I cannot conclude this report without expressing my deep obligations to Captain Bird for his cordial co-operation and zealous support throughout this most arduous service, and my admiration of the conduct of the officers and crews of both ships, whose meritorious exertions fully entitle them to the most favourable consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"JAMES C. ROSS, Captain, R. N."

"*To the Secretary to the Admiralty.*"

CHAPTER XXV.

Return of Sir J. Richardson from his Search by the Mackenzie—Account of his Proceedings—First Measures—Communication with Esquimaux—Deposits of *Pemmican*—Explorations—Sir J. Richardson and Dr. Rae separate—Dr. Rae remains to pursue the search—Various Suggestions—Sir J. Richardson's Return to England.

On the 7th November, Sir John Richardson likewise returned to England, from his Arctic land expedition, which had been as unsuccessful, with regard to its principal object, as the voyage of Sir James Ross. The following are the principal heads of his official report:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of my return from America in the Royal Mail steamer Caledonia.

"On the 4th June, 1847, five seamen, fifteen sappers and miners, with four boats, 15,800 lbs. of *pemmican*, and other provisions and stores, were embarked on board the Hudson's Bay Company ships. The arrival of these ships at York Factory was later than usual, and some of the stores still remained on board on the 10th Sept.; but Chief Trader Bell, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who now took charge of the party, considered it imprudent to wait longer for their landing. At this date, therefore, he commenced his voyage into the interior, taking with him, in addition to the English boats and their crews, a large

batteaux, with sixteen Canadian *voyageurs*, and the stores necessary for building a winter residence, providing for the fisheries, and equipping and paying Indian hunters.

"Owing to the extreme dryness of the summer, the rivers were uncommonly low, and the boats being, therefore, unable to carry more than two-thirds of their ordinary load, it was necessary to leave a considerable quantity of *pemmican* at York Factory to be forwarded inland, with the additional supplies next summer. The difficulties which Mr. Bell encountered, as well from the lowness of the waters as from the very early setting in of winter, were great, his progress consequently was slow, and he was finally arrested by the freezing of the lakes, six days' march short of his intended winter quarters at Cumberland House.

"He immediately housed the boats, constructed a storehouse for the reception of the provisions and other packages, established fisheries, and as soon as sledges could be made, accompanied the bulk of the party on snow shoes through the woods to Cumberland House.

"On the 25th March, 1848, Mr. Rae and I left Liverpool, and landed a fortnight afterwards at New York, and proceeded, by way of the Hudson and Lake Champlain, to Montreal, where we found waiting for us sixteen Canadian *voyageurs*, forming the crews of two canoes provided by Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories. Our route lay through Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, to Sault St. Marie, where we were detained some days waiting for the breaking up of the ice on Lake Superior. When the lake opened we resumed our voyage to Fort William, and from thence to Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winipeg, where we were again stopped for

some days by ice, but having at length succeeded in breaking our way through, we entered the Saskatchewan River on the 9th June, and on the 15th reached Cumberland House. Here we learned that Mr. Bell had set out a fortnight previously, but had been detained by ice in Beaver Lake for four days. We followed him with diligence through Beaver Lake, Churchill River, Isle á la Crosse, Buffalo and Methy Lakes, to Methy Portage, where we overtook him on the 20th June, 1848.

"With the assistance of the *voyageurs* from Montreal, the boats and stores were transported, on the men's shoulders, across the portage in eight days; this laborious proceeding having been rendered necessary by the death of the whole of the horses usually employed there. The two canoes, with their crews, were sent back to Canada.

"On the 15th July, having reached the last portage on Slave River, three boats were arranged for the sea voyage, with full loads of *pemmican* and able crews, consisting in the aggregate of eighteen men. Mr. Rae and I embarked in them to proceed with all speed to the mouth of the Mackenzie, leaving Mr. Bell with the remainder of the party and two boats containing the stores for winter use, with directions to make the best of his way to Great Bear Lake, to establish a fishery at its west end, near the site of Fort Franklin, for the convenience of the sea party, in the event of its having to return up the Mackenzie; and lastly, having traversed the lake to its northern extremity, to erect dwelling-houses and storehouses near the influx of Dease river, and to carry on fisheries at such suitable places as he should discover in the neighbourhood. He was also instructed to despatch James Hope (a Cree Indian, belonging to his party, who had been formerly employed in the expedition, under Messrs. Dease and Simpson, and

knew the country well), together with a native hunter of the district, to the banks of the Coppermine in the beginning of September, there to hunt till the 20th of the month, and looking diligently for the arrival of the boats.

"On my way to the sea I landed three bags of *pemmican* at Fort Good Hope, the lowest of the Company's posts on the Mackenzie, for the use of any party from Sir James Ross's ships or from the Plover, which might reach that establishment, and I likewise deposited one case of the same article, with several memoranda and letters, at Point Separation, which forms the apex of the delta of the Mackenzie, marking the locality in the manner agreed upon.

"We reached the sea on the 4th of August, and had an interview with about three hundred Esquimaux. The distance from Point Encounter, where we met this party, to the mouth of the Coppermine River, including the larger inflexions of the coast line, is upwards of eight hundred miles; and, as we had almost constantly head winds, we rowed along, near the shore, landing at least twice a day to cook, occasionally to hunt, for the most part at night to sleep on shore, and often to look out from the high capes. Our communications with parties of the Esquimaux, assembled on the headlands to hunt whales, or scattered in parties of two or three along the coast in pursuit of reindeer and waterfowl, were frequent. They came off to us with confidence, and, through the medium of our excellent Esquimaux, Albert, who spoke good English, we were able to converse with them readily. They invariably told us that no ships had passed, and were rejoiced to learn by our inquiries that there was a prospect of their seeing more white men on their shores. Up to Cape Bathurst, or for about one-third of the distance between the Mackenzie and Coppermine, the Esquimaux informed us that for six weeks

of summer, or, as they expressed it, for the greater part of two moons, during which they were chiefly occupied in the pursuit of whales, they never saw any ice.

"On the extremity of Cape Bathurst we erected a signal-post and buried a case of *pemmican;* and we made a similar deposit, marked by a pile of painted stones, on the extremity of Cape Parry. After rounding the latter cape we observed, for the first time on the voyage, floes of drift ice, which became more numerous as we approached Dolphin and Union Strait.

"On the 22nd of August we had a strong gale of westerly wind, before which we ran under sail for some hours; but it speedily augmented to a violent storm, and we were compelled to provide for the safety of the boats by running among the ice, loosely packed on Point Cockburn. During the night much ice drifted past, and in the morning we found ourselves hemmed in by dense packs, extending as far as the eye could reach. Up to this time the weather had been of the usual summer temperature of that region, but it now became very cold, and we had continual frosts, with frequent snow-storms, during the remainder of our stay on the coast. By keeping close to the beach in places where the shallowness of the water kept off the larger pieces of ice, by cutting passages for the boats where the packs abutted against the rocks, by dragging the boats over the smoother floes, and by making portages along the shore, according to circumstances, with the aid of occasional spaces of open water, we succeeded, with much labour, in making our way to a bay between Capes Hearne and Kendall by the end of the month. I had previously thought it advisable to abridge the labours of the crews, by leaving one boat, with its cargo of *pemmican*, on the north side of Cape Krusenstern; and, by the

time we came near Cape Kendall, the two remaining boats were scarcely seaworthy, having been much cut by the young ice which now bound the floes together.

"The ground was covered with snow, no open water was visible from the highest capes, and the winter appeared to have set in with rigour. I found myself, therefore, reluctantly compelled to abandon the boats, and to prosecute the journey to our winter residence on Great Bear Lake, by land. The *pemmican* and ammunition were carefully concealed for future use, the boats were hauled up on the beach, and the party directed to prepare for the march.

"We set out on the 2nd of September, and on the following day came to an encampment of Esquimaux. They cheerfully ferried us across the mouth of a wide river, which I named the Rae. We afterwards crossed the Richardson in Lieut. Halkett's portable boat, and following the line of the Coppermine, and of its tributary, the Kendall, we gained a branch of Dease River; and, on the thirteenth day, reached our destined quarters at Fort Confidence.

"In the voyage between the Mackenzie and Coppermine, I carefully executed their Lordships' instructions with respect to the examination of the coast-line, and became fully convinced that no ships had passed within view of the mainland. It is, indeed, nearly impossible that they could have done so unobserved by some of the numerous parties of Esquimaux on the look-out for whales. We were, moreover, informed by the Esquimaux of Back's Inlet, that the ice had been pressing on their shore nearly the whole summer; and its closely packed condition when we left it, on the 4th of September, made it highly improbable that it would open for ship navigation later in the season.

"I regretted extremely that the state of the ice prevented me from crossing to Wollaston Land, and thus completing in one season the whole scheme of

their Lordships' instructions. The opening between Wollaston and Victoria Lands has always appeared to me to possess great interest; for through it the flood tide evidently sets into Coronation Gulf, diverging to the westward by the Dolphin and Union Strait, and to the eastward round Cape Alexander. By the fifth clause of Sir John Franklin's instructions, he is directed to steer south-westward from Cape Walker, which would lead him nearly in the direction of the strait in question. If Sir John found Barrow Strait as open as when Sir Edward Parry passed it on four previous occasions, I am convinced that (complying as exactly as he could with his instructions, and without looking into Wellington Sound, or other openings either to the south or north of Barrow Strait) he pushed directly west to Cape Walker, and from thence south-westwards. If so, the ships were probably shut up on some of the passages between Victoria, Banks, and Wollaston Lands. This opinion, which I advocated in my former communications, is rather strengthened by the laborious journeys of Sir James Ross having disclosed no traces of the missing ships."

"Being apprehensive that the boats I left on the coast would be broken up by the Esquimaux, and being, moreover, of opinion that the examination of the opening in question might be safely and efficiently performed in the only remaining boat I had fit for transport from Bear Lake to the Coppermine, I determined to entrust this important service to Mr. Rae, who volunteered, and whose ability and zeal in the cause I cannot too highly commend. He selected an excellent crew, all of them experienced *voyageurs*, and capable of finding their way back to Bear Lake without guides, should any unforeseen accident deprive them of their leader. In the month of March (1849) a sufficient supply of *pemmican* and other necessary stores, with the equipments of the boat, were trans-

ported over the snow on dog-sledges, to a navigable part of the Kendall River, and left there under the charge of two men. As soon as the Dease broke up in June, Mr. Rae would follow with the boat, the rest of the crew and a party of Indian hunters, and would descend the Coppermine River about the middle of July, at which time the sea generally begins to break up. He would then, as soon as possible, cross from Cape Krusenstern to Wollaston Land, and endeavour to penetrate to the northward, erecting signal columns and making deposits on conspicuous headlands, and especially on the north shore of Bank's Land, should he be fortunate enough to attain that coast. He was further instructed not to hazard the safety of his party by remaining too long on the north side of Dolphin and Union Strait, and to be guided in his movements by the season, the state of the ice, and such intelligence as he might obtain from the Esquimaux. He was, moreover, directed to report his proceedings to their Lordships immediately on his return, and should his despatches experience no delay on the route, they may be expected in England in April or May next. He was also requested to engage one or more families of Indian hunters to pass the summer of 1850 on the banks of the Coppermine River, to be ready to assist any party that may direct their course that way.

"With respect to the recommendation of additional measures in furtherance of the humane views of their Lordships, it is necessary to take into account the time for which the discovery ships were provisioned. Deer migrate over the ice in the spring from the main shore to Victoria and Wollaston Lands in large herds, and return in the autumn. These lands are also the breeding places of vast flocks of snow geese; so that, with ordinary skill in hunting, a large supply of food might be procured on their shores in the months of June, July, and August. Seals are also numerous in

those seas and are easily shot, their curiosity rendering them a ready prey to a boat party. In these ways, and by fishing, the stock of provisions might be greatly augmented. And we have the recent example of Mr. Rae, who passed a severe winter on the very barren shores of Repulse Bay, with no other fuel than the withered tufts of a herbaceous andromeda, and maintained a numerous party on the spoils of the chase alone for a whole year. Such instances forbid us to lose hope. I would therefore beg leave to suggest that the Hudson's Bay Company be authorised and requested to promise liberal rewards to Indians and Esquimaux who may relieve white men entering their lands. Some parties of Esquimaux frequenting the coast to the westward of the Mackenzie are in the habit of passing the winter in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the Rat River (a tributary of the Peel), and might be interested in the cause by judicious promises. The Russian Fur Company have a post on the Yucon or Colville, which falls into the Arctic Sea about midway between the Mackenzie and Behring Straits, and through their offices similar offers might be made to the western Esquimaux. We know from the narrative of Sir John Franklin's discovery of that coast, and also from the subsequent voyage of Messrs. Dease and Simpson, that the Esquimaux who frequent the estuary of the Mackenzie, meet those from Point Barrow, at an intermediate point, for the purposes of barter; and in this way intelligence of any interesting occurrence is conveyed along the coast. The Russian post on the Colville receives its supplies from a post in Norton Sound, where it would be easy for any vessel bound to Behring Straits to land a communication. Mr. Rae, having been appointed to the charge of the Mackenzie River fur district, will give a proper direction to the efforts of Indian hunters in that quarter.

"Having thus, Sir, in a more diffuse manner than is usual in an official letter, but in accordance with my sense of the deep interest felt on the subject, not only by my Lords Commissioners, but by the nation at large, and I may add by the whole civilized world, recapitulated the proceedings of the expedition, and detailed my opinions, I have only to add that, after the return of Mr. Rae and myself from the coast in September, 1848, we devoted our leisure during the winter to observations on the magnetic intensity and force, with the uniplar magnetometer, and Dr. Lloyd's inclinometer, and kept hourly registers for fourteen hours each day of the declinometer, barometer, thermometer, and wind vane.

"In the beginning of May, 1849, Mr. Bell and I, taking with us all the Europeans of the party then remaining at the fort, and such of the Canadians as were not to be employed with Mr. Rae on his summer expedition, crossed Great Bear Lake on the ice, and, when the navigation opened in June, ascended the Mackenzie, and retraced my outward route. We were stopped by ice on Great Slave Lake till the 11th July, On reaching Methy Portage, Mr. Bell resumed his duties in the Company's service, and I proceeded with a party to Norway House, where I discharged the Canadians, and sent the seamen and sappers and miners to York Factory, there to embark in the Company's ship bound for England. I then continued my voyage to Canada in a canoe, and, after passing two days at Montreal with Sir George Simpson in examining the charges for supplies furnished to the expedition, proceeded to Boston for embarkation in the mail steamer.

"I have, &c.,

"JOHN RICHARDSON, Med. Insp.

"Commanding the Arctic Searching Expedition.

"*To the Secretary of the Admiralty, &c., &c., &c.*"

CHAPTER XXVI.

Proceedings of Herald, Captain Kellett, and Plover, Commander Moore—Arrival in Kotzebue's Sound—Joined by the Pleasure Yacht of R. Shedden, Esq., who Volunteers in the Search—Captain Kellett's Journal—Death of the Philanthropic Shedden—Disappointment and Failure of Expedition, and Augmentation of Public Anxiety for the Fate of Sir John Franklin—Enterprise and Investigator sent out, under Captain Collinson and Commander M'Clure—Ingenious Devices—Sailing Orders from the Admiralty, and Departure of the Expedition, January, 1850.

It only now remains to give the details of the search *viâ* Behring's Straits, by the Herald and Plover.

The Plover, being a most miserable sailer, did not reach Oahu, in the Sandwich Islands, until the 22nd of August, 1848, too late in the season, of course, for any research in Behring's Straits. She wintered at Noovel, on the coast of Kamtschatka, whence she sailed on the 30th of June, and on the 14th of July anchored at Chamisso Island, at the bottom of Kotzebue's Sound, the appointed rendezvous. The next day she was joined by the Herald, and a yacht called the Nancy Dawson, the property of Robert Shedden, Esq., a gentleman of large fortune, who, hearing in China of the objects of the expedition to Behring's Straits, nobly resolved to turn aside from his pleasure

voyage round the globe, and to aid in the search for his imperilled countrymen. The following are the heads of the admirable report of Captain Kellett dated the 22nd November, 1849, received 22nd January, 1850), which embraces everything known of the exploits of the Herald and Plover down to the present time.

"15th July.—Shortly after eight A.M. we made out a vessel at anchor under Chamisso Island, and at ten exchanged numbers with H.M.S. Plover. Commander Moore came on board, from whom I was glad to learn that the officers and crew were all healthy and in good spirits. He had only arrived at six A.M. the day previous, having passed the winter in a harbour on the Asiatic shore, close to the south of Cape Tchukotsky. Before my arrival two boats had been despatched for the Mackenzie River; but fortunately the Herald hove in sight before it was too late to signalize them; the boats saw the recal, and returned. We commenced immediately on our arrival to coal and provision the Plover, and by nine A.M. she had on board all the bread she could stow, half her coals, and a proportion of other provisions.

"The 16th and 17th were occupied in stowing provisions and coal, and examining the different bays on the east side of Choris Peninsula for a wintering station for the Plover. We found very shoal water in all of them, shoaling gradually northerly towards the sandy peninsula. We were of opinion that if a vessel did winter there she would be greatly exposed, and probably, on the breaking up of the ice, be either carried into the straits or shoved up on to the beach. On each day of our stay we were visited by two baidars, carrying twelve men each, belonging to Spafareif Inlet; all of them were particularly tall, well built, well armed, and without either women or dogs. Commander Moore, whilst on a visit to these friendly

natives, and enjoying a pipe with them, dug for the flour left by Captain Beechey twenty-three years before, in a position indicated by directions on a rock, which were as perfect as the day when cut. The cask required the united strength of two boats' crews, with a parbuckle and a large spar as a lever, to free it altogether. The sand was frozen so hard that it emitted sparks with every blow of the pickaxe. The cask itself was perfectly sound and the hoops good; out of the 336lb. of flour which it contained, 175lb. was as sweet and well-tasted as any which we had on board. The tin of beads was also found; those not of glass much decayed; the cotton stringing quite sound.

"July 18.—Weighed; and, accompanied by the Nancy Dawson and the Plover, stood out of the anchorage.

"July 19.—Exchanged colours with an American whaler (Margaret, of Providence). Whales blowing in every direction. Fog so dense at eight P.M. that the Plover could not be seen, although within speaking distance. Continued running to the northward during the night, keeping company by gongs and bells.

"July 20.—Noon; wind shifted suddenly to the northward; fine clear weather. Cape Lisburne east 19 miles. At five P.M. we anchored in 15 fathoms, with Cape Lisburne bearing N. 7° 20' E. mag., distant 2½ miles; Plover and yacht in company.

"From this position two whale boats were despatched to examine the coast northerly, under the orders of Lieutenant Pullen (Plover), and Mr. Parsons, second master (Herald). A boat was also sent from the Plover a short distance to the southward. The Plover's boat returned soon after midnight, having landed in one or two places, and met with many natives, who were friendly and well-disposed.

"July 21.—Weighed in the morning at seven A.M., with a N.N.E. wind, to follow the boats northerly.

The Plover, being nearer in shore, was visited by two baidars, each carrying about twenty natives, men and women; a most miserable set of beings they were. At ten A.M., 22nd, boats alongside.

"Mr. Pullen had examined the inlet to the eastward of the cape without success. He was informed by the natives, through the interpreter, that none of the inlets on the coast would admit of a vessel entering them; that it was only a few of them, at the early spring, their baidars could enter; and they were closed when the winds began to blow from the westward.

"We experienced until the 23rd a tedious calm; the current fortunately set us north, half a mile per hour. During this time we were fearlessly visited by two baidars, with the same party of natives we had seen off Cape Lisburne.

"July 25.—Wind N.W.; cold, but fine and clear weather; steering for Wainwright's Inlet, the vast number of walruses that surrounded us keeping up a continual bellowing or grunting. The barking of the innumerable seals, the small whales, and the immense flocks of ducks continually rising from the water as we neared them, warned us of our approach to the ice, although the temperature of the sea was still high. We made the land, ten miles to the northward of Wainwright's Inlet, and at two P.M. we anchored in eleven fathoms, about three miles off its entrance.

[In running down the coast, they were astonished to see a man on shore, as they imagined, making signals with a flag; but, on sending a boat, it turned out to be only a native mark for a quantity of blubber and reindeer flesh.]

[Wainwright's Inlet was selected for the Plover's wintering-place; but on sounding the entrance it was discovered that nine feet was the greatest depth of water; "but, as it was encumbered with some heavy pieces of ice aground, which during our stay was

breaking up fast, I concived it very probable that after they had disappeared the channel might become more direct and deeper; I therefore determined to return, and make a closer examination of the inlet, as soon as I had seen the boats as far north as we could reach in the ships. The boats were, therefore, directed to visit Wainwright's Inlet on their return; but, under any circumstances, the Plover would be found at Chamisso Island.

"By midnight the boats were all ready, and shoved off under three hearty cheers from the ships, which were as heartily returned.

"This little expedition consisted of twenty-five persons, and four boats, as follows:—Lieutenant Pullen, commanding the Herald's thirty-foot pinnace, fitted on board with the greatest care, thoroughly decked, schooner-rigged, and called the 'Owen,' furnished with pumps, spare rudder, and a strengthening piece of two-inch plank above her water-line.

"Two twenty-seven-foot whale boats, new boats, covered in abaft as far the backboard, but without either boxes or cases, the provisions being stowed, the bread in painted bags, and the preserved meat between tarpaulings. The men's clothes were in haversacks, capable of removal in a moment.

"Plover's pinnace, a half-decked boat, with cases for her provisions, &c., so placed as to resist pressure from the ice.

"There were placed in the boats seventy days' preserved meats for the whole party, all the other articles of provisions, except bread, to the same extent, being also soldered up in tins. In addition to these, the Owen had on board eight men's allowance of the regular ship's provisions. After she was stowed with this proportion, every corner that would hold a case of preserved meats was filled. The two larger boats carried in lack of them five cases of *pemmican* for the special use of Sir John Franklin's party.

"The ships weighed in company with the boats.

"July 26.—The ice could be seen in heavy masses, extending from the shore near the Sea Horse Islands. At six we were obliged to heave-to, in consequence of a dense fog; when this cleared off, the Plover was close to, but neither the boats nor the yacht were in sight.

"We both made sail, steering true north, and in lat. 71° 5' made the heavily packed ice, extending nearly as far as the eye could reach from N.W. b. W. to N.E. At this time we had soundings in forty fathoms mud—the deepest water we have had since leaving the island of St. Laurence. We continued running along the pack, which was composed of a dirty-coloured ice, not more than five or six feet high, except some pinnacles deeply seated, until eight P.M., when, a thick fog coming on, we ran two or three miles south, and hove to. We had run along it thirty miles.

"July 29.—At half-past one fog cleared off; pack from N.N.W. to N.N.E., distant about six miles. Made sail during the forenoon, running through streams of loose ice, and found it driving slowly to the S.

"Our most northern position was lat. 72° 51' N., 118 W. The ice, as far as it could be seen from the masthead, trended away W.S.W. (compass), Commander Moore and the ice-master reporting a water sky to the north of the pack, and a strong iceblink to the S.W. It was impossible to gain this reported open water, as the pack was perfectly impenetrable. The pack we had just traced for forty leagues, made in a series of steps westerly and northerly—the westerly being about ten or twelve miles, and the northerly twenty. We made sail at nine o'clock A.M., steering for the coast a little to the westward of our track up.

"July 30.—Packed in shore in eight fathoms, close to the northward of Blossom's Shoals. Commander Moore came on board and proposed that, during the

time I was surveying Wainwright's Inlet, he should go along the coast during the fine weather as far north as the ice would permit him, and endeavour to communicate with the larger boats, which we expected were somewhere about Refuge Inlet. With this intention we both started, with a fine but adverse wind from N.E. Shortly after six o'clock, A.M, we again anchored off the entrance to Wainwright's Inlet. Not a particle of the ice seen on our former visit remained.

"I left the ship for the examination of the inlet, and gave permission to the ship's company to trade with the natives, who had come off in their baidars, for what they had to dispose of; but they soon followed, and were perfectly good-humoured.

"Commander Moore went on shore, erected a mark, and buried a bottle, with information of the boats. I had satisfied myself before his arrival that ten feet was the greatest depth that could be carried in; so that, short of taking the Plover's masts out, she could not be lightened sufficiently to enter the inlet. Could it have been done with any partial lightening, I should have attempted it, being in every way so desirable a position: in the first place, from its high latitude, the friendliness of the natives, the supply of reindeer's flesh we found could be obtained there, there being no other harbour south of it nearer than Kotzebue Sound; and, lastly, the opinion of the ice-masters of the exposure to which a vessel wintering in the latter place would be subjected.

"Wednesday, Aug. 1.—Commander Moore went up the inlet, and found some baidars that had just arrived with several reindeer cut in quarters. For a small quantity of tobacco they sold 800lb.—as much as the boat could carry. Learning from him that they were willing to dispose of more, I sent a light boat to purchase it; seeing the boat pulling in fast directly for them, they got alarmed; and at length,

before the boat touched the beach, a woman walked to the water's edge and held up a bottle the naturalist had lost the day before, making signs to him when he landed that it had been picked up on the beach. It was in the same state as when he lost it, the cork never having been removed. At first they appeared rather sulky; but after a few presents they resumed their former good humour, and sold fourteen quarters of reindeer meat. Weighed and stood off the land, in a thick fog, and with a falling barometer.

"August 2.—Fog cleared off. Plover nowhere to be seen. Wind gradually increasing.

"August 3.—Reduced to treble-reefed topsails and reefed courses, with a very short, deep, and trying sea. Obliged to carry to it to keep off the land, the current setting, as we found it on all occasions, with the wind—rather stronger off Icy Cape than in other parts of this sea.

"August 4.—Fell in with the Plover again, signalized our position to her, and appointed Cape Lisburne as a rendezvous.

"August 5, 6, 7.—Fresh breezes with heavy falls of snow, but what with the current, the trying sea, and the wind always breaking us off in whichever way we tried to go, we could not make a mile of westing until the afternoon of the 8th, when the wind shifted suddenly to the N.W.; stood to the W.S.W.

"August 10.—The sea literally covered in streams with particles of a pink colour, like wood ashes, or coarse sawdust from cedar, a tenth of an inch long, and 0.5 in diameter, and round. Under the microscope no appearance of circulation could be detected. The surgeon supposes it to have proceeded from the carcases of the whales he saw yesterday, the oil having been forced through the pores by the pressure of the water, giving the uniform size and shape in which we found it. I endeavoured to dry some in blotting

paper, but it was absorbed by the paper, and nothing left but an oily stain. Tried the current, and found it running to the westward, one-third of a mile an hour. Wolves grunting around in groups of eight and ten together; quantities of small pieces of drift-wood, all pine, which appeared to have been washed from some beach. The temperature of the water at the surface in twenty-nine fathoms was 45°, and at the bottom 43°. The dredge produced (in soft blue mud) a good many mussels, starfish (found in all parts of this sea), a few bivalves (got before), and some very small shrimps.

"At half-past ten, after standing to the S.W. for fifteen miles, the loom of the land in the neighbourhood of North Cape could be seen.

"August 11.—In lat. 70° 1′, long. 173° 53′.

"August 12.—Our reckoning placed us in 70° 20′, 171° 23′, in eighteen fathoms, sand. Until midnight it blew a strong gale.

"August 13, A.M.—Fine; wore to stand back to a shoal passed yesterday. Shoaled our water thirteen fathoms, and at ten I imagined I saw breakers on the lee bow. Ship refused stays; wore, but had no less water at midnight; passed over the tail of the bank in eight fathoms, five miles N.W. of our former position. Continued to stand to the eastward until I could weather the south end of the shoal; then tacked, passing, in sixteen fathoms, three miles south of our first position. When I bore up north to fix its western edge, a slight easterly current took me rather further in that direction than I intended. I have, however, confined it within a radius of five miles.

"The weather would not allow of our anchoring so as to make a closer examination of the shoal with our boats, and the sea was too heavy and hollow to attempt taking the ship herself into less water. In approaching the shoal, the bottom changes from sand

to fine sand, and when in the least water coarse gravel and stones. We found nothing less than seven fathoms; but I am of opinion that a bank exists which would bring a ship up.

"At three A.M. the 17th August, the temperature of the sea suddenly fell from 40° to 36°; the wind became light, and excessively cold. Shortened sail, supposing that I was very near the ice; frequent snow showers.

"Shortly after eight, the packed ice was seen from the masthead from S.S.W. to N.N.W., five miles distant. The weather was so bad that I bore up for the rendezvous. The weather, however, as suddenly cleared up. I hauled my wind for the north-western extreme of the ice that had been seen. At forty minutes past nine the exciting report of 'Land, ho!' was made from the masthead; they were both soon afterwards crowded.

"In running a course along the pack towards our first discovery, a small group of islands was reported on our port beam, a considerable distance within the outer margin of the ice. The pack here was not so close as I found it before. Lanes of water could be seen reaching almost up to the group, but too narrow to enter unless the ship had been sufficiently fortified to force a hole for herself. These small islands at intervals were very distinct, and were not considered at the time very distant.

"Still more distant than this group (from the deck) a very extensive and high land was reported, which I had been watching for some time, and anxiously awaited a report from some one else. There was a fine clear atmosphere (such a one as can only be seen in this climate), except in the direction of this extended land, where the clouds rolled in numerous immense masses, occasionally leaving the very lofty peaks uncapped, where could be distinctly seen

columns, pillars, and very broken, which is very characteristic of the higher headlands in this sea—East Cape and Cape Lisburne, for example. With the exception of the N.E. and S.E. extremes, none of the lower land could be seen, unless, indeed, what I took at first for a small group of islands within the pack edge was a point of this great land. This island, or point, was distant twenty-five miles from the ship's track, higher parts of the land seen not less, I consider, than sixty. When we hove to off the first land seen, the northern extreme of the great land showed out to the eastward for a moment, and so clear as to cause some who had doubts before to cry out, 'There, Sir, is the land quite plain.'

"From the time land was reported until we hove to under it, we ran twenty-five miles directly for it. At first we could not see that the pack joined it, but as we approached the island we found the pack to rest on the island, and to extend from it as far as the eye could reach to the E.S.E.

"The weather, which had been fine all day, now changed suddenly to dense clouds and snow showers, blowing fresh from the south, with so much sea that I did not anchor as I intended.

"I left the ship with two boats, almost despairing of being able to reach the island, whilst the ship kept off and on outside the thickest part of the loose ice. We reached the island, and found running on it a very heavy sea; the first lieutenant and I, however, landed. Others were anxious to do the same, but the sea was so high that I could not permit them. We hoisted the jack and took possession of the island with the usual ceremonies, in the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. The extent we had to walk over was not more than thirty feet. From this space and a short distance that we scrambled up,

we collected eight species of plants; specimens of the rock were also brought away.

"With the time we could spare and our materials, the island was perfectly inaccessible to us. This was a great disappointment to us, as from its summit, which is elevated above the sea fourteen hundred feet, much could have been seen, and all doubt set aside, more particularly as I knew the moment I got on board I should be obliged to carry sail to get off the pack and out of the bight of it we were in; neither could I expect that at this late period of the season the weather would improve.

"The island on which I landed is four miles and a half in extent east and west, and about two and a half north and south, in the shape of a triangle, the western end being its apex. It is almost inaccessible on all sides, and a solid mass of granite. Innumerable black and white divers (common to this sea) here found a safe place to deposit their eggs and bring up their young; not a walrus or seal was seen on its shore, or on the ice in its vicinity. We observed here none of the small land birds that were so numerous about us before making the land.

"It becomes a nervous thing to report a discovery of land in these regions without actually landing on it, after the unfortunate mistake to the southward; but as far as a man can be certain, who has one hundred and thirty pair of eyes to assist him, and all agreeing, I am certain we have discovered an extensive land. I think, also, it is more than probable that these peaks we saw are a continuation of the range of mountains seen by the natives off Cape Jakan (coast of Asia), mentioned by Baron Wrangell in his Polar voyages. I returned to the ship at seven P.M., and very reluctantly made all the sail we could carry from this interesting neighbourhood to the south-east.

"August 20.—Sighted Cape Lisburne in a thick fog; hauled off to await clear weather; passed several carcases of whales.

"August 24.—Sighted off the low land the Nancy Dawson yacht and the Owen. Mr. Shedden came on board, accompanied by Mr. Martin, the second master of the Plover, who had been sent back by Mr. Pullen in charge of the two large boats of the expedition. I learned from Mr. Martin that he had arrived at the anchorage off Point Hope on the 19th inst., in company with the yacht, and was preparing to start again north in the Owen, sending the other boats back in charge of the yacht to Kotzebue Sound.

"The boats, after leaving the Plover on the 25th July, were detained a day or two by the ice before reaching Point Barrow; found the natives most friendly, and anxious to assist them in every way. The boats were accompanied as far as Point Barrow by the yacht. This vessel had many escapes. She was pressed on shore once; ran on shore on another occasion to the eastward of Point Barrow, and was only got off by the assistance of the natives, who manned her capstan, and hove with great goodwill.

"On another occasion she parted her bower cable from the pressure of the ice that came suddenly down on her, and had a narrow escape of a severe squeeze. She recovered her anchor and cable. Mr. Shedden erected a mark in Refuge Inlet, where he also intended to have left some provisions, but the natives were too numerous to do so without their knowing it.

"He found another small inlet a short distance south of Refuge Inlet, in latitude 71° 5', where he buried from his own store a large cask of flour and a large cask of preserved meats. At Refuge Inlet he left information as to the position of these casks.

"Nothing could exceed the kindness of Mr. Shedden to those in the boats, in supplying them with

everything his vessel could afford, and in following them with considerable risk. His crew were, unfortunately, a most disaffected set. He had too many of them for so small a vessel.

"The boats all reached Dease's Inlet on the evening of the 3rd, but were detained until the 5th by strong winds.

"Their time, however, was well employed in stowing their boats and a 'baidar' Mr. Pullen bought at Point Barrow. They were fairly away on the afternoon of the 5th, having with them one hundred days' provisions, besides ten cases of *pemmican;* this little expedition then consisted of two twenty-seven foot whale boats and one native baidar, manned by fourteen persons in all.

"I have no apprehensions as to their reaching one of the Hudson's Bay establishments on the Mackenzie early in this season, though not sufficiently early to return to Kotzebue Sound this year. Dease and Simpson certainly made their voyage from the Mackenzie to Point Barrow and back in one season, but then they travelled west, at the commencement of the season, and returned to the eastward at its close, when the winds prevailed from the westward. Our boats would have to return westward at the latter part of the season, which I believe to be impossible from the packing of the ice, the heavy westerly winds, and currents.

"Mr. Pullen's letter says pretty plainly that he will not return; he will therefore be awaiting their Lordships' instructions at York Factory.

"We hove to off Point Hope towards midnight, in very dirty weather.

"August 25.—Provisioned the Owen, and despatched her in company with the yacht to Kotzebue Sound, supposing the Plover to have gone thither. I desired Commander Moore to employ her in the examination of the Buckland River.

"August 27.—In standing to the westward we observed the ice blink was very strong from north to north-west, about fifteen miles from us; wore, hoping to-weather Blossom Shoal at least forty miles.

"August 28.—Wore in eleven fathoms on the shoal this morning, having nine fathoms before we trimmed. Had a current north 84° east, setting thirty-six miles in eighteen hours. Wind west.

"On the morning of the 31st I again stood in for Point Hope, but finding there was no landing there I bore up for Kotzebue Sound.

"Passed Cape Krusenstern on the morning of the 1st, in a gale from the north-west, under third reefs of topsails and reefed courses, and anchored off Chamisso Island at 9.30 p.m.

"Found the Plover and the yacht at anchor under Choris Peninsula. The Owen was absent with Captain Moore up the Buckland River, but expected daily her return on the 3rd.

"Comm. Moore having determined to winter in the sound, and being very desirous to visit some chiefs who were reported to live in a considerable place up the river, I determined to go thither with a party sufficient to ensure respect from these people, although Captain Moore told me they were most friendly. Accordingly, on the 9th, I started with the Owen, the Plover's decked boat, Herald's cutter, and two gigs, their crews and several officers.

"The first night we bivouacked at Elephant Point, and had the whole crew roaming over the ice cliffs for fossils, but could not find one of any importance.

"The second night we stayed at a large native village of twenty-two tents and a hundred and fifty people. We pitched our tents close to one extreme of them, had our coppers, pots, kettles, axes, saws, &c., on shore, but not an article was lost, although at times we had a third of their numbers about us.

Even in this way they were not troublesome when we told them we wished them to go away. They were all very fine men, but disfigured in appearance by the tabrets they all wear. They brought us wood and water, gave us fish and venison, and offered us whales' blubber and seals' flesh. Leaving a few of the men to take care of the boats, the rest came on shore for an hour. The natives were highly amused, and joined in their sports of leaping and running. The sportsmen were always accompanied by some of them; they were greatly surprised to see some of the young officers killing the birds right and left.

"The moment the boats started (until we got far up) we were preceded by their little kiacs, sounding with their paddles, to the channel. We had pilots in each of the large boats, who remained constantly with us, and who experienced great concern when they unavoidably got us on shore.

"I have been the more particular in my remarks relative to these interesting people, because their behaviour on the visits of Captain Beechey and myself have been so very opposite. It may be accounted for in this way—we had an interpreter who could speak with them, through which they found out what our object was in going amongst them.

"The Russian settlement has, also, I consider, been very instrumental in causing this alteration in their conduct. We found many of them with shirts, handkerchiefs of gaudy colours, cottons printed with walrus, reindeer, and all the other animals that they are in the habit of catching, and representing in ivory knives and kettles—all these came from the Russian settlement. They were latterly very anxious to obtain muskets, and evinced no fear in discharging them.

"September 11.—We arrived with the boats at a part of the river thirty miles up, perfectly barred

across with heavy rock, over which there was a fall of about thirteen inches. Here the heavy boats were stopped, but by unlading the lighter ones we were enabled to haul them over.

"Wishing myself to return to the ship, and Comm. Moore being still anxious to go on, I directed the senior lieutenant of the Herald to accompany him in my gig; for the purpose of mutual protection (leaving one of the larger boats below the fall to wait their return); I directed him to make a tracing of the river as far as they might ascend it, and return to their respective vessels before the 23rd inst. They ascended the river about thirty miles beyond where I left them. In this distance they met with but two natives. They passed several places where they were obliged to unload and haul these light boats over. They found, also, the pine trees scattered about in twos and threes a little distance from the bank. The river, from the mud and leaves hanging on the banks, showed that, at some period of the year it was at least ten feet above the level at that time.

"The absence of spars of wood of any description on the frequent bridges of rocks across the river, on the tops of the many spots of sand, or on the summit of the banks (which bear evident marks of having been overflown at some season), shows that the Buckland is not the source from which the enormous quantities of wood found at Choris Peninsula is derived. We have never found a particle of wood on the eastern face of this peninsula—all on its western.

"Comm. Moore and his party returned on the 19th. We now commenced to prepare for our departure southward. The Plover's house was nearly completed, and as much provisions as he could stow or take care of were placed on board her.

"By the 26th we were ready to start, having fully completed all the Plover's wants, and early on the

morning of the 29th September I weighed from Kotzebue Sound, with a fair breeze from north-east; yacht in company. At the time of our departure there was early snow on the low lands—the streams were still running. In fact, the whole month of September had been remarkably fine—generally with strong winds from the eastward.

"Passed Behring's Straits on the morning of the 2nd October in a heavy gale from the north-north-west.

"October 11.—At midnight passed the Aleutian Group by the Straits of Amoukhta.

"On the 14th November, anchored at the port of Mazatlan.

"At Mazatlan I found lying H. M. S. Amphitrite and the Nancy Dawson yacht, this little vessel having arrived the morning previous.[1]

"I have endeavoured in this letter and the accompanying documents to give their Lordships a detailed account of my proceedings while in the Arctic circle, which I trust will meet with their approval.

"And in conclusion, I hope for the consideration of their Lordships for the officers serving under my command, who have, as heretofore, without an exception, displayed uncommon zeal in their respective duties.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your very obedient servant,

"HENRY KELLETT, Captain."

"*The Secretary of the Admiralty, London.*"

As may be supposed, when it was ascertained that no traces of the lost expedition had been found by any of those sent out to its relief, the anxiety of the

[1] We much regret to say that Mr. Shedden fell a victim to his too great exertions in this humane cause. He died at Mazatlan.

public became still greater, and at length the Enterprise and Investigator were ordered to be put in readiness for another search, which, however, was this time to be made by the way of Behring's Straits, in conjunction with the Plover. The ships were commissioned by Captain Richard Collinson, C.B., and Commander R. S. Le M. M'Clure, who had been first lieutenant with Ross in his late voyage. They were provisioned for three years, and supplied with numerous ingenious devices for aiding them in their object, such as balloons, gunpowder for blasting, and a vast number of ice saws, poles, hatchets, &c., besides a sharp-pointed machine, weighing some fourteen or fifteen pounds, attached by a tackle and fall to the extreme end of the bowsprit, which, being worked on deck and allowed to drop suddenly, would penetrate ice of an ordinary thickness, and thus open a passage for the ships.

The Enterprise and Investigator sailed from Plymouth Sound on the 20th January, 1850, under the following orders:—

"*By the Commissioners, &c.*

"1. Whereas the efforts that have been made during the last two years to relieve the Erebus and Terror have failed, and all access to the Parry Islands has been prevented by the accumulation of ice in the upper part of Barrow Straits; and whereas it is possible that the same severity of weather may not prevail at the same time in both the eastern and western entrances to the Arctic Sea, we have now determined, in a matter of such moment, to send an expedition into the Polar Sea from the westward, and having a full confidence in your zeal and skill, we have thought proper to appoint you to the command of H. M. S. Enterprise, and also to place under your orders H.M.S. Investigator, both of which vessels having been duly

fortified against collision with the ice, equipped for the polar climate by warm-air apparatus, and furnished with provisions for three years, as well as a large supply of extra stores, you are now required and directed, so soon as they are in all respects ready for sea, to proceed to make the best of your way to Cape Virgins, in order to arrive at Behring's Straits in July.

"2. At Cape Virgins the commander-in-chief in the Pacific has been desired to have a steam-vessel waiting for you, and by her you will be towed through the Straits of Magellan and the Wellington Channel, and on to Valparaiso.

"3. At that port you will use the utmost despatch in fully eplenishing; and having so done, you will again ur your best exertions to press forward to the Sandwise Islands.

[4. On arriving at the Sandwich Islands he was to use the utmost despatch to refit, and should the Plover be there, which was very improbable, she was to be taken under his orders. Further directions were to be sent out by the March mail, but every exertion was to be made to reach the edge of the ice by the 1st August.]

"7. We consider it essential that after entering the ice there should be a depôt, or point of succour, for any party to fall back upon. For this purpose the Plover is to be secured in the most favourable quarter, as far in advance as can be found—such as Wainwright's Inlet or the creek at Hope Point; but if they be unsafe, and none has been discovered nearer to Barrow's Point, then at Chamisso Island, or any part of Kotzebue Sound which may afford the necessary shelter.

[8. 9. Volunteers were to be taken from the Herald, to replace any of the crew of the Plover who might be unfit to contend with the rigours of a further stay in those latitudes, &c.]

[10. 11. The Plover was to be entirely refitted with stores, &c., from the Herald (should that ship be in company), so as to enable her to stay until the autumn of 1853, while the Herald was to return home.]

[12. The Plover was to remain in her winter quarters awaiting the return of the Enterprise and her consort until the summer of 1853.]

[13. The Herald (if found in company) was to assist in securing the Plover in her winter quarters.]

[14. Taking every precaution against surprise, the friendship of the Esquimaux was to be cultivated by every possible means, and rewards were to be offered to them to convey intelligence to the Hudson's Bay Company's settlements.]

[15. Every resource was to be devoted to preserve the health and promote the comfort and cheerfulness of the crews.]

"16. We leave it to your judgment and discretion as to the course to be pursued after passing Point Barrow, and on entering the ice; and you will be materially assisted in this respect by what you will learn from Captain Kellett, if he should be fallen in with at the Sandwich Islands, as well as from the observations of Sir E. Parry and Captain Beechey, contained in the memoranda of which we send you copies."

[17. Capt. Collinson was furnished with copies of the various instructions to the several expeditions, the opinions of the first Arctic authorities, books of the voyages, &c., in the northern regions, &c.]

[18—19. Caution not to allow the separation of the two ships, and to keep up continued intercourse between them.]

[20. Authorised to take command of the Investigator in case of any accident to the Enterprise.]

[21. Usual clause with reference to the scientific

objects of the expedition in the event of Great Britain becoming involved in hostilities during its absence.]

[22. To communicate proceedings to the Secretary of the Admiralty at every opportunity, and to heave overboard occasionally tin cylinders containing information of position, &c.]

[23. Every care to be taken lest they should be shut up in a position which might render the failure of the provisions a possibility.]

"We feel it unnecessary to give you more detailed instructions, which might possibly embarrass you in a service of this description; and we have, therefore, only to repeat our perfect reliance on your judgment and resolution, both in doing all that is possible to relieve the missing ships, and in withdrawing in time when you come to the painful conclusion that your efforts are unavailing.

"You will bear in mind that the object of the expedition is to obtain intelligence of, and to render assistance to, Sir John Franklin and his companions, and not for the purpose of geographical or scientific research; and we conclude these orders with an earnest hope that Providence may crown your efforts with success, and that they may be the means of expelling the gloom and uncertainty which now prevail respecting the missing expedition.

"Given under our hands this 15th day of January, 1850,

"F. T. BARING,
"J. W. D. DUNDAS.

"By command of their Lordships, "J. PARKER.

"*Richard Collinson, Esq., C.B., Captain of H.M.S. Enterprise, at Devonport.*"

Although the despatching these two vessels to penetrate through Behring's Straits to Melville Island, a distance of nearly nine hundred miles, forms an important

auxiliary in any general plan of search, it is by no means to be considered as the best point to which our efforts can be directed, in sending out to the relief of our gallant countrymen, an opinion which is held by some of the most eminent Arctic navigators of the day, who, far from regarding Captain Collinson's expedition as what the *Times* has rather unadvisedly called a "LAST effort,"[1] consider it to be a very secondary one to any that may be sent by way of Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Straits.

This point was most ably and particularly brought to the notice of the Government by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, in the House of Commons, on the 5th of February, when moving for any reports that might have been made by the officers employed in the late expeditions, and for copies of any plans of search, whether by ships or boats, of correspondence, orders to Captains Collinson, Kellett, and Moore, Lieutenant Pullen, and Dr. Rae, &c., sent in to, or issued by, the Admiralty.[2]

Sir Robert Inglis said he was desirous of exciting an expression of sympathy for those who were now passing their fifth year—if God should have spared their lives—amid the horrors of an Arctic winter. He earnestly urged upon her Majesty's Ministers to take such measures for the relief of their fellow-countrymen as their own zeal, and the science of those by whom they were surrounded, might teach them to be the most applicable for the purpose. The Government ought but slightly to esteem that person who could move for even a slip of paper in reference to future proceedings, who did not, at the same time, acknowledge what they had already done upon the same subject. At the same time he was bound to urge upon them not to lose a month, a week, a day, or even an

[1] Leader of 31st January, 1850.

[2] No. 107, ordered to be printed 5th March.

hour, in seeking to release those gallant men from their perilous position; for every former expedition had failed, if not entirely, or principally, yet, in some measure at least, from not having been sent forth from this country at an earlier period. In order that the search might be effectual, it ought to commence in Baffin's Bay at the end of May or the beginning of June, so that it might take advantage of the first opening in July. He ventured to hope that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty would take into consideration the expediency of applying steam navigation, directly and primarily, in the search. He had learned from high authority that the measure was not only practicable, but might be easily adapted and applied most usefully in such an enterprize. He would also suggest that, instead of two vessels being employed, the same amount of tonnage should be distributed amongst four vessels. The object was not so much to go from one point to another as to make a search in all directions. Supposing four vessels should go out, he would suggest that each vessel should be independent of the others. A stimulant would thus be given to the energy of each, and greater results would probably follow than could be secured by any other mode. He had not said a word on the subject as being one connected with humanity, with national honour, or with science; but the cause of humanity ought to compel them, and a feeling of national honour ought to induce them, to do what he now urged upon Her Majesty's Government, without a word being said about science. For what did they hear at the close of the last session? That the Governments of two other states were engaged in making preparations for rescuing our countrymen. He believed there was no precedent in history of one nation sending forth an expedition to rescue the lives of the subjects of another nation. He did not know whether, either in the case

of Russia or of the United States, their hopes had been realized; but the honour of England required that efforts should be made by England herself to rescue her own countrymen. It had been suggested that the use of small balloons would facilitate the search. He gave no opinion upon the subject, but he thought that such a mode might be made subsidiary to the other means employed. This was not a private question; he would not, therefore, introduce private considerations; but when he reflected on the extraordinary conduct of the wife of Sir John Franklin, of her self-denying efforts in the cause of her husband and of his companions; when he considered the hundreds of persons who were interested in the fate of the husbands and brothers now engaged in that expedition, he thought he did not unreasonably prefer his suit to the First Lord of the Admiralty when he expressed a hope that he would take the subject into consideration, not merely from a sense of humanity towards those who were missing, or from a sense of national honour, or from a consideration for the cause of science, but also from a sympathy for the anguish and suspense that had been felt by so many of those who, though breathing the same genial air with ourselves at home, were suffering for those who were now separated from them, and were existing in the regions of an ice-bound zone. He had reason to hope that his Right Honourable friend was not only prepared to concede the papers he had asked for, but to indicate to the House at once that it was the firm intention of the Government to comply with the suggestions that had been made.

The First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Francis Baring), in reply, stated that it was the intention of the Government to send out again in search of Sir John Franklin, by Lancaster Sound, and that the various plans submitted to them had received their most anxious consideration. He thought it right to

state that he had never done the House of Commons, or the country, the injustice to suppose that expense would be an obstacle when the lives of their fellow-men were at stake—(an expression which was received with acclamation by the House)—and that everything that human power could do should be done to save the lost expedition; while he was glad to say that His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, the United States of America, and the Hudson's Bay Company, had most cordially entered into these views, and manifested the most earnest sympathy.

The promise thus given was immediately ordered to be carried into effect. The Eider and Free Trade screw-propeller steam-vessels, and the Baboo and Ptarmigan,[3] strong teak built ships, of four hundred and thirty and five hundred tons, were purchased, and at once put into the hands of the dockyard authorities, They are now rapidly preparing for their dangerous voyage. Notwithstanding the hazardous nature of the service, no difficulty was found in procuring officers; in fact, as was the case with the Enterprise and Investigator, there have been almost volunteers enough in officers to man the ships, while from the excellent and timely measures adopted by Captain Austin, some of the most experienced whalers had been secured for the forecastle.

Independent of the government expedition, there are three others, to which we must advert. The first consist of a vessel, touchingly named the "Lady Franklin," a fine ship of two hundred and twenty-five tons, to be commanded by Mr. Penny, late of the *Advice* whaler; and the other is her tender, the "Sophia," a new clipper brig of one hundred and twenty tons,

[3] These names have been altered from Ptarmigan to *Resolute* (Captain H. T. Austin), Baboo to *Assistance* (Captain E. Ommanney), Eider to *Pioneer* (Lieut. Osborn).

named after Miss Sophia Cracroft, the devoted companion of Lady Franklin, and the second most prominent watcher for the return of the missing adventurers. The Lady Franklin is fitting at Aberdeen, with a celerity which does great honour to all engaged in her equipment; and the Sophia, at Dundee, is not behind her consort.

The second expedition is likewise a private one, to be commanded by the veteran Sir John Ross, and is equipped by a public subscription, towards which the Hudson's Bay Company have generously voted the sum of 500*l.* The vessel is named the "Felix," of one hundred and twenty tons, after Sir John's late valued friend Sir Felix Booth, schooner rigged, with a tender of twelve tons, called the "Mary." They are to sail from Lock Ryan, N. B. on the 20th April next, having on board provisions for eighteen months, and will touch at Holsteinburg, Whale Island, or Opernavich, for two Danes, who understand the Eskimaux language, as interpreters. They then proceed to Barrow's Strait, by the northern or southern route, as most advisable, and beginning at Cape Hotham, the western extremity of Wellington Channel, will examine all the headlands to the westward for deposited intelligence, and if none is found before reaching Banks' Land, the Mary will be left there as a vessel of retreat, while the Felix will continue her search during this and the ensuing year; after which Sir John Ross thinks that it will be needless, as he has no doubt, that before that time the fate of the gallant Franklin and his devoted companions will be ascertained.

Lastly, by the mail of the 28th December, instructions were sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company to Governor Sir George Simpson, to give the necessary orders to Dr. Rae to continue the search, along the northern shore of the continent, for another year.

On the 19th February last, a despatch was received from Sir George Simpson, acquainting the Company with the nature of the orders he had given to Dr. Rae to carry out these views, the substance of which are as follows:—That should his explorations in the month of July, 1849, have ended in disappointment, he was to organize a further attempt, in the ensuing summer, to examine the space, having Banks' Land on the N., Cape Walker on the E., and Victoria Land on the S.

Simultaneously with the expedition to proceed towards Cape Walker, one or two small parties were to be despatched to the westward of the Mackenzie, in the direction of Point Barrow, one of which was to cross over to the Youcon River, and descending that stream to the sea, carry on their explorations in that quarter, while the other going down the Mackenzie was to trace the coast thence towards the Youcon. And these parties were also to be instructed to offer rewards to the natives to prosecute the search in all directions.

By these means there was reason to believe, that in the course of one year so minute a search would be made of the coast and the islands, that in the event of the expedition having passed in that direction, some trace of their progress would certainly be discovered.

To carry out these endeavours, Dr. Rae had perfect *carte blanche.* In all the details he was very properly left to his own judgment, but was particularly requested to keep up the depôt at Fort Good Hope, with an ample supply of clothing, provisions, ammunition, fishing-tackle, &c., in case any of the men of the missing expedition pushing their way there.

May He, "who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand," crown all these endeavours with success, and grant that through their means our noble countrymen, Franklin and his crew, may yet return in

safety to their mourning friends.[4] From the known talents and ardent zeal of the explorers, everything is to be hoped; and although

> "'Tis not in mortals to command success,
> Yet they'll do more—they'll deserve it."

[4] We much regret that the necessity of going to press, before the various searching expeditions now fitting out depart on their humane mission, precludes the possibility of giving the orders under which they sail.

CONCLUSION.

Reflections on the ill-success of Arctic Research—Plan for an American Overland Expedition—Examination of Wellington Channel—Minor Details connected with Search—Eskimaux or Innuit Vocabulary—Reasons which forbid us to despair—Utility of Arctic Voyages of Discovery—Opinion of Hakluyt and Sir Edward Parry—Concluding Remarks.

Our sketch is now finished. We have endeavoured in the foregoing pages to present to the reader a brief view of Geographical Discovery and Research in the Polar Regions, from the days when Scandinavia poured forth her hordes of maritime adventurers to overrun and subdue the most powerful states of Europe, down to the latest relief expedition which has left the shores of old England to succour the veteran Franklin and his brave men:—and, if after its perusal, he close the book, and for a moment give free scope to his fancy, as he reviews in his mind the daring and unsuccessful attempts which have been made for more than three centuries to solve the great problem, he cannot fail to be forcibly struck with the peculiar adaptation to this most perplexing question of Thompson's beautiful lines—

> "seeming to be shut
> By jealous Nature with eternal bars."

There have been numerous plans sent in to the Lords of the Admiralty to effect the rescue of our distinguished countryman Sir John Franklin, and doubtless, with the vast resources and experience at their command, and nobly anxious to fulfil their duty to the relatives and friends of the absent adventurers, their Lordships have adopted what, in their judgment,

may appear to be the best measures to attain that end; but as their peculiar province lies in the equipment of searching expeditions by *sea*, they may, perhaps, have overlooked the great importance which is attached by the highest authorities to a severe scrutiny of the northern shores of the Continent by land expeditions.

If the reader, with the open map before him, will glance over the Admiralty Instructions to Franklin, and remember that, for three weeks after he was last seen, the weather was particularly favourable, he will at once perceive that, should the Erebus and Terror during that time have met with no obstruction, they would continue their course rapidly to the westward, and never think of wasting even an hour in landing a party to deposit intelligence, at least until they had reached the meridian of Cape Walker, from which point Sir John was instructed to use every effort to penetrate to the southward and westward, in as direct a line as possible towards Behring's Straits. Once past this point, and probably involved among ice-encumbered lands, between the Parry Islands and the main, of which we have no knowledge, he would struggle on year after year, still hoping for one of those sudden changes in the position of the adamantine barrier, which almost appear as if the work of a miracle, to accomplish "the object nearest his heart;" and at length, if forced to abandon his ships, (which, being a point of honour in the Navy, would only be at the last extremity,) he would of course direct his steps to the continent, distant not more than two or three hundred miles; and here, then, it becomes evident that he ought to find immediate succour, to enable him to make the journey to Fort Good Hope, the lowest station of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Mackenzie.[1]

[1] Sir John Richardson and Dr. Rae, in their late journey, deposited

Whether Sir John Franklin would make for the Coppermine or the Mackenzie, would depend greatly on the westing which he reached in his voyage; although, if he had no light boats with him, and was without the means of constructing them, it may be supposed he would strive to reach the Mackenzie, as the Coppermine is almost unnavigable, and we have seen, in his first journey, the fearful consequences of the inability to cross even an insignificant stream thirty yards wide!

The people of the United States of America have nobly stepped forward in this trying moment to help their brother Anglo-Saxons, and a large sum of money has already been raised for the purpose of equipping an American searching expedition.[2] An admirable plan has been suggested, where their aid would be of the utmost value, the arrangements of which are as follows:[3]—

Six light whale-boats, procured at Boston, and forty persons, seamen and officers, as the relieving party, divided into three brigades of two boats each. To this party should be attached another of forty men and officers, with six or eight canoes, the men being hunters and Canadian *voyageurs*, and they likewise should be divided into three brigades. Their food, when clear of the settlements, might be *pemmican* and biscuit, trusting to game for further fare.

Having obtained full instructions for every aid to be afforded to them by the Hudson's Bay Company's

cases of *pemmican* and papers at Fort Good Hope, Point Separation, Cape Bathurst, Cape Parry, Paisley Cove on the north side of Cape Krusenstern, and Icy Cove; all these *caches* ought to be revisited and enlarged, and others made at prominent headlands.

[2] We cannot refrain from here noticing the most munificent donation of 15,000 dollars, from M. H. Grinnell, Esq., the eminent New York merchant.

[3] See the letters of "Observer," in the *Times*.

servants, the united brigades might push, in March and April (or earlier or later, according to circumstances), to the Great Slave Lake, thence one brigade should strike off to the north-east, down the Back or Great Fish River to the Polar Sea. This part, though very important, has been wholly omitted in every plan of search.

The other two brigades should go with the opening of the rivers down the Mackenzie. At the Great Bear Lake one of them might turn off, cross the lake, and endeavour to reach the Coppermine River, following it down to the sea.

The remaining brigade should go down the Mackenzie to its mouth.

Supposing these three parties to reach the Polar shores, they should each choose a wintering spot. The huntsmen and voyagers should at once prepare their winter residence, stock of fuel and provision, whilst the whale-boat parties either on foot over the ice, or in their boats, according to the state of the sea, proceed in the following directions:—

The Back River party in a N.N.W. course, after passing Dease and Simpson's Straits.

The Coppermine party to the N.N.E., towards Cape Walker.

The Mackenzie River division to make a northerly course, until it intersect the line, which it is supposed the expedition of Captain Collinson from Cape Barrow will make in steering for Melville Island.

In addition to their whale-boats, the explorers should carry a number of Halkett's air-inflated boats, to render their return to the main a certainty, in the event of the loss of their craft.

It is not possible to conceive that the whole of such a plan could miscarry; and any argument against the descent of so obstructed a river as the Back River may be set at rest by sending that brigade down the

Mackenzie likewise, and arranging that it shall explore to seaward in a direction different from that of its sister brigade.

In the year 1851, a fresh party might be sent to re-provision, reinforce, or assist them on their homeward journey.

This American expedition might be carried out without being in any way supposed to interfere with the examination of the coast, or the sea between Cape Barrow and the Mackenzie River by the Plover's boats, or with the examination of Wollaston and Victoria Lands, and the coast between the Coppermine and Back Rivers by the Hudson's Bay Company's people under Dr. Rae.

"Prestige," remarks the writer, "has a vast deal to do with the successful issue of every scheme, and there could be no greater incentive to exertion—no surer grounds for the belief of a favourable result crowning such endeavours on the part of the Americans—than the good fortune which has invariably attended all our overland parties, or explorations of the Arctic Sea in boats."

Let but such a scheme be earnestly carried out, and, to use the words of Lady Franklin, in her touching appeal to the President of the United States, "it would be a noble spectacle to the world, if three great nations, possessed of the widest empires on the face of the globe, were thus to unite their efforts in the truly Christian work of saving their perishing fellow men from destruction." Let the Hudson's Bay Company, (whose resources in the country are almost unlimited), and the officers at the various Russian fur stations heartily co-operate, and it is more than probable that such a plan will be crowned with success; at least, we can lay our heads on our pillows, with the satisfaction of knowing that we have done everything

that lies within the power of man to accomplish;—the issue must rest with that great Being who has before delivered Franklin from similar, and probably more imminent perils.

A careful examination of the Wellington Channel is also of the greatest importance, and will be entrusted to one of the ships now fitting. Nothing is known of this noble opening, further, than that when Parry arrived off its entrance, on a beautiful evening in August, 1819, it appeared quite free from all obstructions. Sir John Franklin is known to have had a great desire to explore this strait; and as he may hold the opinion with Colonel Sabine and Baron Wrangell, that, from the similarity of the trending of the northern coasts of the two Continents, open water would be found to exist on the American side, on reaching a certain northern latitude, as it was on the Asiatic, he might have been induced to attempt this route.[4]

Whilst the *only* cause of our fear lies in the lengthened absence of the expedition, there are many facts

[4] There are various minor details connected with the Franklin Searching Expeditions, which our space will not permit us to notice: among them are the important questions of the application of steam to the ships about to be employed, and the great point at issue, as to their proper size and draught of water; the passage of the Middle Ice in Baffin's Bay, &c.;* many of which are embraced in the admirable speech of Sir Robert Inglis; but not the least important is a vocabulary of the Eskimaux (or, more properly speaking, the Innuit) language, which has been most ably compiled from the imperfect sources we possess, for the use of the expeditions, by Captain Washington, R.N. When it is remembered that Captain Kellett, by a few timely words, was enabled to pacify probably the very same tribe, who, twenty-three years before, had fiercely attacked Captain Beechey, and that Dr. Richardson also derived the greatest benefit from a slight knowledge of their language, it will be seen that this vocabulary will prove a most important aid, if not to the Eastern, at least to the Western expedition.

* See Dr. Scoresby's pamphlet; London, Longmans.

and arguments, which forbid us either to relax in our efforts or to lose hope.

In the FIRST place, there are few men who have had more experience in an Arctic climate, and are better qualified to cope with its difficulties and dangers, than Sir John Franklin; and, as his officers and crew are as fine men as ever trod the deck of a ship, we ought to have the greater confidence in their powers, both of physical and mental endurance.

SECONDLY, although they were only provisioned for three years, and have been absent now nearly five, there is every probability that their guns would furnish them with a large supply of game during the migration of the animals to the northward. Parry, during his stay at Winter Harbour, killed deer, musk oxen, &c., amounting to three thousand seven hundred and sixty-six pounds weight:—Sir John Richardson tells us that Victoria and Wollaston Lands are resorted to by vast flocks of snow geese and seals:[5]—Sir James Clark Ross, during the winter he lately passed at Port Leopold, obtained some four thousand pounds of the flesh of loons, dovekies, &c.; whilst Dr. Rae, who passed a severe winter on the sterile shores of Repulse Bay, maintained a numerous party on the spoils of the chase alone;[6] and there are many other resources, of which Franklin, from former and dear-bought experience, would be perfectly aware.

THIRDLY, We have a dozen instances of the powers of human endurance in the Arctic Regions:—for instance, Barentsz, in Novia Zemlia; and the almost miraculous preservation and deliverance of eight Englishmen, "left by mischance in Greenland, A.D. 1630, nine months and twelve days;"[7] Franklin's own celebrated and terrible journeys; and especially we

[5] See page 302. [6] Sir J. Richardson's Report, see page 303.
[7] Churchill's Collec. Viv., p. 750.

have the extraordinary escape of Sir John Ross, who returned to England in safety, after an absence of four years and five months, on one of the most hazardous expeditions on record.

All these facts forbid us to despair, and afford a well-grounded hope, that if spirited and energetic measures are taken, we shall yet have the inexpressible satisfaction of rescuing our lost countrymen from a fate too horrible to contemplate.

Much has been said and written as to the utility of voyages of discovery in the Arctic Regions, and frequent have been the attacks of mere Utilitarians; but though the almost ceaseless efforts of more than three centuries have not been crowned with the success which they may seem to have deserved, yet, it cannot be denied, that Arctic Exploration has been the school in which some of England's greatest naval heroes have been trained, and that whatever comparison the result may bear to the exertion and outlay, it must be remembered, that these expeditions have greatly tended to promote that spirit of hardihood and enterprise, which cannot be too highly valued in a profession which it should ever be our greatest care to foster. No one can be insensible to the honourable distinction England enjoys among nations, from her having engaged in pursuits of this nature; to use the words of Richard Hakluyt—"Wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renown vnto our English nation, to have been the first discouerers of a sea beyond the North Cape (neuer certainly knowen before), and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the Baie of S. Nicholas and the Riuer of Duina, as for the Portugales to have found a sea beyond the Cape of Buona Espiranza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies." In what language would the worthy "Preacher," as he styles himself, have chronicled the

brilliant discoveries of a Mackenzie, a Franklin, and a Parry!

Whilst, however, the Polar Regions are peculiarly a field for British enterprise, it must still be remembered that there are very great dangers attendant on all researches within the Arctic Circle, and it is questionable, whether even the large interests of science involved in the solution of the problem of a North West Passage, would justify the renewal of any further attempts to set that much contested point at rest. Sir Edward Parry has recorded his opinion, that "it may be tried often, and often fail; but that it is an enterprise within the reasonable limits of practicability, and that it will one day or other be accomplished."

Whether, however, these attempts on the part of England will end with the voyage of Sir John Franklin, is of very little importance at the present moment; indeed, we may candidly avow with Captain Thomas James, "I very well know, that what I have here hastily written, will never discourage any noble Spirit that is minded to bring this so long tried Action to absolute effect; and it is likely withal that there be some, who have a better understanding, and a surer way of prosecuting of it, than myself have; to whose designs I wish a happy success:"—but, although contrary to the opinion of Sir Edward Parry, and especially antagonistic to that unconquerable spirit seemingly inherent in the British Navy, we would earnestly hope, that, should it please the Almighty to send back the gallant Franklin and his devoted crews in safety, England will be careful of again risking the lives of her adventurous sons, in further attempts to discover what cannot be looked upon in any other light than that of a geographical *ignis fatuus*,

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF VESSELS AND OFFICERS ENGAGED IN ARCTIC RESEARCH, FROM 1818 TO 1850.

1818.

Ross.

ISABELLA, 385 TONS.	ALEXANDER, 252 TONS.
Ross, John, Captain.	Parry, W. E., Lieut. Commanding.
Robertson, W., Lieutenant.	Hoppner, H. H., Lieutenant.
Thom, W., Purser.	Hooper, W. H., Purser.
Edwards, J., Surgeon.	Fisher, A., Assistant Surgeon.
Beverley, C. J., Assistant Surgeon.	Bisson, P., Admiralty Midshipman.
Skene, J. M., Admy. Midshipman.	Nias, J., ditto.
Ross, James Clark, ditto.	Allison, J. Greenland Master.
Bushnan, J., Midshipman & Clerk.	Phillips, J., ditto.
Lewis, B., Master & Greenld. Pilot.	Halse, J., Clerk.
Wilcox, T., Mate & Greenld. Pilot.	28 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
Sabine, Captain Royal Artillery.	—
Saccheuse, Esquimaux Interpreter.	37 Total.
46 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.	
—	
57 Total.	

1818.

Buchan.

DOROTHEA, 370 TONS.	TRENT, 250 TONS.
Buchan, David, Captain.	Franklin, John, Lieut.-Commandg.
Morell, A., Lieutenant.	Beechey, F., Lieutenant.
Duke, J., Surgeon.	Barrett, W., Purser.
Jermain, J., Purser.	Reid, A., Admiralty Mate.
Eisher, G., Astronomer.	Back, G., ditto.
Palmer, C., Admiralty Mate.	Gilfillan, A., Assistant Surgeon
Dealy, W. J., ditto.	Castell, W., Clerk.
Borland, W. G., Assistant Surgeon.	Fife, G. Greenland Master.
Wakeham, C., Clerk.	Kirby, G., Greenland Mate.
Bruce, P., Greenland Master.	29 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
Crawford, G., Greenland Mate.	—
44 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.	38 Total.
—	
55 Total.	

1819.

Parry.

HECLA, 375 Tons.	GRIPER, 180 Tons.
Parry, W. E., Lieut.-Commanding.	Liddon, M., Lieut.-Commanding.
Sabine, Captain E., Astronomer.	Hoppner, H. P., Lieutenant.
Beechey, F. W., Lieutenant.	Beverley, C. J., Assistant Surgeon.
Edwards, J., Surgeon.	Reid, A., Midshipman.
Hooper, W. H., Purser.	Skene, A. M., ditto.
Fisher, A. Assistant Surgeon.	Griffiths, W. N., ditto.
Nias, J., Midshipman	Wakeham, C., Clerk.
Dealy, W. J., ditto.	29 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
Palmer, C., ditto	—
Ross, J. C. ditto.	36 Total.
Bushnan, J. dttto.	
Halse, J., Clerk.	
46 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.	
—	
58 Total.	

1819.

Franklin.

FIRST JOURNEY.

Franklin, John, Captain.	Back, George, Midshipman.
Richardson, John, M. D., Surgeon.	Hood, Robert, " ditto.

1821.

Parry.

FURY, 377 Tons.	HECLA, 375 Tons.
Parry, W. E., Commander.	Lyon, G. F., Commander.
Fisher, G., Chaplain & Astronomer.	Hoppner, H. P., Lieutenant.
Nias, J., Lieutenant.	Palmer, C., ditto.
Reid, A., ditto.	Fisher, A., Surgeon.
Edwards, J., Surgeon.	Germain, J., Purser.
Hooper, W. H., Purser.	Mc Laren, A., Assistant Surgeon.
Skeuch, J., Assistant Surgeon.	Sherer, J., Midshipman.
Henderson, J., Midshipman.	Richards, C., ditto.
Crozier, F. R. M., ditto.	Griffiths, W. N., ditto.
Ross, James Clark, ditto.	Bird, E., ditto.
Bushnan, J., Assist. Surv. & Mids.	Mogg, W., Clerk.
Halse, J., Clerk.	47 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
48 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.	—
—	58 Total.
60 Total.	

1822.

Sabine & Clavering.

GRIPER, 120 Tons.

Clavering, D. C., Commander.	Sabine, Captain E., Astronomer.

1824.

Parry.

HECLA, 375 Tons.	FURY, 377 Tons.
Parry, W. E., Captain.	Hoppner, H. P., Commander.
Wynn, J. L., Lieutenant.	Austin, H. T., Lieutenant.
Sherer, J., ditto.	Ross, J. C., ditto.
Foster, H., ditto.	Mc Laren, A., Surgeon.
Neill, Dr. S., Surgeon.	Halse, J., Purser.
Hooper, W. H., Purser.	Bell, T., Assistant Surgeon.
Rowland, W., Assistant Surgeon.	Westropp, B., Midshipman.
Brunton, J., Midshipman.	Waller, C. C., ditto.
Crozier, F. R. M., ditto.	Bird, E., ditto.
Richards, C , ditto.	Mogg, W., Clerk.
Head, H. N., ditto.	Crawford, G., Greenland Master.
Harrison, J., Clerk.	Donaldson, T., Greenland Mate.
Allison, J., Greenland Master.	48 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
Champion, G., Greenland Mate.	—
48 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.	60 Total.
—	
62	

1824.

Lyon.

GRIPER, 180 Tons.

Lyon, G. F., Captain.	Tom, J., Midshipman.
Manico, P., Lieutenant.	Leyson, W., Assistant Surgeon.
Harding, F., ditto.	34 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
Kendal, E. N., Assistant Surveyor.	—
Evans, J., Purser.	41 Total.

1825.

Franklin.

SECOND JOURNEY.

Franklin, John, Captain.	Back, George, Lieutenant.
Richardson, John, M.D., Naturalist and Surgeon.	Kendall, E. N., Mate.
	Drummond, T., Assist. Naturalist.

1825.

Beechey.

BLOSSOM, 26 Guns.

Beechey, F. W., Captain.	Elson, T., Master.
Peard, G., Lieutenant.	Gould, J. F., Admiralty.
Belcher, E., ditto.	Smyth, W., Mate.
Lay, T., Naturalist.	Wolfe, J., ditto.
Collie, A., Surgeon.	Kendall, J., Midshipman.
Marsh, G., Purser.	Beechey, R. B., ditto.
Nelson, T., Assistant Surgeon.	Crawley, J., Volunteer.
Evans, J., Clerk.	Hockley, J., ditto.
Osmer, H., ditto.	Barlow, J. C., ditto.
Wainwright, J., ditto.	Lewis, C., ditto.

1827.

Parry.

ATTEMPT TO REACH THE POLE IN BOATS.

HECLA, 375 Tons.

Parry, W. E., Captain.	Crozier, F. R. M., ditto.
Ross, James C., Lieutenant.	Halse, James, Purser.
Forster, Henry, (*b*) ditto.	Mc Cormick, R., Assist. Surgeon.

1829.

Ross.

VICTORY.

Ross, John, Captain.	Taylor, George, 3rd ditto.
Ross, James C. "	Brunton, Alexander, 1st Engineer.
Thom, William, Purser.	Macinnes, Allan, 2nd ditto.
Mc Diamid, George, Surgeon.	19 Petty-officers and Seamen.
Blanky, Thomas, 1st Mate.	—
Abernethy, Thomas, 2nd ditto.	28 Total.

1833.

Back.

SEARCH FOR CAPTAIN JOHN ROSS.

Back, George, Captain. | King, Richard, Surgeon.

And three Men.

1836.

Back.

TERROR, 326 Tons.

Back, G., Captain.	Donovan, J., Surgeon.
Smyth, W., Lieutenant.	Mould, J. A., Assistant Surgeon.
Stanley, O., ditto.	Lawes, W., Clerk in Charge.
Mc Murdo, A., ditto.	Saunders, J., Asting Master.
Gore, G., Mate.	61 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines
Mc Clure, R., ditto.	—
Fisher, P., ditto.	73 Total.
Marcuard, C., Extra Mate.	

1837-8-9.

Messrs. Dease and Simpson.

1845.

Franklin.

EREBUS, 378 Tons.	TERROR, 326 Tons.
Franklin, Sir J., Captain.	Crozier, F. R. M., Captain.
Fitzjames, J., Commander (Capt.)	Liddle, E., Lieutenant(Commander).
Gore, G., Lieutenant (Commander).	Hodgson, G. H., Lieutenant
Le Visconte, H. T. D., Lieutenant.	Irving, J., ditto.
Fairholme, J. W., ditto.	Hornby, F. J., Mate (Lieutenant).
Des Vœux, C. T., Mate, (Lieut.)	Thomas, R., ditto, (ditto.)
Sargent, R. O., ditto. (do.)	Blanky, T., Ice-Master, (Act.)
Couch, E. ditto. (do.)	Macbean, G. A., Second Master.
Collins, H. F., Second Master.	Peddie, J. S., Surgeon.
Stanley, S. S., Surgeon.	Mc Donald, A., Assist. Surgeon.
Goodsir, H., Assist. Surgeon. (Act.)	Helpman, E. J. H., Clerk in Charge.
Osmere, H., Paymaster & Purser.	57 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.
Read, J., Ice-Master (Act.)	—
58 Petty-officers, Seamen, & Marines.	68 Total.
—	
70 Total.	

Rank, within parenthesis promotion since absence.

1846.

Survey of Isthmus of Boothia, by Dr. John Rae.

1848.

Moore.

PLOVER.

Moore, T. E. L., Commander.	Hooper, W. H.. Mate (Act.)
Pullen, W. J. S., Lieutenant.	Martin, H., Second Master.
Simpson, J., (*b*) Assist. Surg. (Surg.)	Lindsay, J. J., Clerk in Charge.

1848.

Kellett.

HERALD, 26 Guns, 500 Tons.

Kellett, Henry, Captain, C. B.	Goodridge, J. O., Surgeon.
Maguire, R., Lieutenant.	Woodward, T., Paymaster & Purs.
Trollope, H., ditto.	Billings, W. T., Assistant Surgeon.
Cooper, E. J. L., ditto.	Parsons, W. F., Second Master.
Hill, J. S., Master (Act.)	Whiffin, J. G., Clerk.

1848.

Overland Searching Expedition under Sir John Richardson, M. D., and Dr. Rae.

1848.

Sir James Clark Ross.

ENTERPRIZE, 530 Tons.	INVESTIGATOR, 480 Tons.
Ross, James C., Captain.	Bird, E. J., Captain.
Mc Clure, R. S., Le M., Lieutenant	Ross, M. G. H. W., Lieutenant.
Mc Clintock, F. L., ditto.	Robinson, F., ditto.
Browne, W. H. J., ditto.	Barnard, J. J., ditto.
Couldery, W. S., Master, (Act.)	Tather, W., Master.
Robertson, J. (*b.*) M. D., Surgeon.	Anderson, R, Surgeon.
Biggs, James, Paymaster & Purser.	Moore, L. J., Mate.
Matthias, H., Assistant Surgeon.	Cresswell, S. G., ditto.
Court, S., Second Master.	Allard, J. H., Second Master.
Whitshead, Edward, Clerk.	Adams, E., Assistant Surgeon.
	Gilpin, J. D., Clerk in Charge.

1849.

Saunders.

NORTH STAR, 500 Tons.

Saunders, J., Master Commanding.	Leash, J., Ice-Master, (Act.)
Way, J., Second Master.	Sabestor, G., (Act.)
Norman, M. ditto.	Rae, James, M. D. Assist. Surgeon.
Gawler, H. B., ditto.	Rutter, J. J., Clerk in Charge.

1850.

Collinson.

ENTERPRIZE, 530 Tons.	INVESTIGATOR, 480 Tons.
Collinson, R., Captain, C.B.	Mc Clure, R. J., Le M., Commander.
Phayre, G. A., Lieutenant.	Haswell, W. H., Lieutenant.
Barnard, J. J., ditto.	Cresswell, S. G., ditto.
Iago, C. T., ditto.	Armstrong, A., M. D., Surgeon.
Anderson, R., Surgeon.	Saintsbury, H. H., Mate.
Legg, R. T. G., Master.	Wynniatt, R. J., ditto.
Parks, M. T., Mate.	Piers, H., Assistant Surgeon.
Adams, E., Assistant Surgeon.	Court, S., Second Master.
Skead, F., Second Master.	Paine, J. C., Clerk.
Whitehead, E., Clerk in Charge.	

1850.

Austin.

RESOLUTE.	ASSISTANCE.
Austin, Horatio T., Captain.	Ommanney, E., Captain.
Aldrich, R. D., Lieutenant.	Elliot, J. E., Lieutenant.
Browne, W. H. J., ditto.	Mc Clintock, F. L., ditto.
Brooman, J. E., Purser.	Mechain, G. F., ditto.
Bradford, A. R., Surgeon.	Donnett, J. J. L., Surgeon.
James, Lewis, Clerk.	Hamilton, R. V., Mate.
Bullock, C., Midshipman.	Richards, C., Clerk.
King, Richard, Assistant Surgeon.	Harrison, E. N., Clerk in Charge.
Mc Dougall, G. F., Second Master.	Shellabear, W. B., Second Master.

PIONEER.—Osborn, Sherard, Lieutenant, Commanding.

Allard, J. H. Second Master.	Picthorn, F. R., Assistant Surgeon.

CHART
OF THE
NORTH POLAR SEA.
NORTH AMERICA
ASIA
EUROPE
ARCTIC OCEAN
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
SEA OF
BEHRING or KAMTSCHATKA
Limit of Drift Ice
Aleautian Isles
Kurile Islands
Chart of Tartary
140°
150°
160°
170° East of Greenwh.
180° West of Greenwh.
170°
160°
150°
140°

GREENLAND
Chart of the
ARCTIC SHORES OF THE
AMERICAN CONTINENT
From
BAFFIN BAY TO BEHRING STRAIT.

00038228

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 February, 2016